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# JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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*The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm.*—By ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER, Professor in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City.

## COMMENTARY.<sup>1</sup>

THE Commentary herewith presented follows Ibn Hazm's text published in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, pp. 28–80, by page and line. In marking the lines, I have counted *every* line on the page, including the superscriptions. The footnotes are not quoted by the line but by the number prefixed to them. In the case of some very long footnotes, I also added the line of the footnote referred to.

I prefix a “List of Cited Works,” giving all the authorities (with short biographical dates) regularly or frequently quoted in this treatise. The abbreviations under which they are quoted are made noticeable to the eye.<sup>2</sup> Books only incidentally referred to are omitted in this list. MS. before the title signifies that the book has not yet appeared in print and has been used in manuscript.

In quoting from Arabic sources I have discriminated between printed works and manuscripts. The latter I quote in the original; the former I give—except in cases of necessity—in

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<sup>1</sup> Continued from Vol. xxviii, pp. 1–80.

<sup>2</sup> To simplify the abbreviations, I purposely neglect the rules of exact transliteration.

translation, as the text itself is accessible to the specialist. In translating from the printed edition of Ibn Hazm's *Milal*, I usually attach the important variants from the manuscripts at my disposal.

I plead guilty to being inconsistent in transliterating the Arabic. Such inconsistencies are scarcely avoidable. The specialist will pardon them, the layman will hardly notice them.

As regards the index to this treatise, I refer the reader to my remarks in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, p. 27.

*List of Cited Works.*

**Abulfeda.** Abû'l-Fidâ [d. 732/1331], *Annales Moslemici*, ed. Adler, Hafniae 1789-94.

**Abu'l-Maali.** Abû'l-Ma'âlî [wrote about 485/1092. Descendant of Ali. *Imamite*], *Kitâb bayân al-adyân* (in Persian), printed in Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, vol. I (Paris, 1883), pp. 132-171. *The quotations refer to the Persian text.*

**Agh.** Abû'l-Faraj al-Isbâhâni [d. 356/967], *Kitâb al-Âgâni*, Bûlâk.

**Agh. Tables.** I. Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques du Kitâb al-Âgâni*. Leyden, 1895-1900.

**Anon. Sufi.** MS. Anonymous work on Sufism. The author quotes Yâfi'i, who died 768/1366. Cod. Berlin; Ahlwardt, Catalogue No. 3397.

**Bagd.** MS. On Bağdâdî [d. 429/1038] and his work, see Introduction to this treatise, p. 26.

**Blochet,** *Le Messianisme et l'hétérodoxie Musulmane*. Paris, 1903.—Draws largely on Persian (Shiitic) sources.

**de Boer,** *History of Philosophy in Islam*. English translation. London, 1903.

**Brockelmann,** *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. I-II. Leipzig, 1898-1902.

**Diyarbekri.** Diyârbekrî [died after 982/1574], *Ta'rîkh al-Khamîs*. Cairo, 1283<sup>h</sup>.

**Dozy, Isl.** Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, traduit du Hollandais par Victor Chauvin. Leyden-Paris, 1879.

**Fîhr.** Nadîm [wrote 377/988]. *Kitâb al-Fîhrîs*, ed. Flügel. Leipzig, 1871-2.

**Gen. Leyd.** MS. *Kitâb tahdîb al-ansâb wa-nihâyat -al-a'kâb.* An anonymous genealogy of the Alides [fourth century H.]. Cod. Leyden (Warner 686). *Not paginated.*

**de Goeje, Carmathes.** de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides* [Mémoires d'Histoire et de Géographie orientales No. 1]. Second edition. Leyden, 1886.

**Goldziher, Muh. St.** Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien I-II.* Halle 1889-1890.

**Goldziher, Shi'a.** Goldziher. Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte der Ši'a und der sunnitischen Polemik. Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 78 (1874), p. 439 ff. Vienna.

**Haarbrücker.** German translation of *Shahrastânî I-II.* Halle, 1850-51. *Unless otherwise stated, quotations refer to vol. I.*

**IAth.** Ibn al-Athir [d. 630/1234]. *Chronicon quod Perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C. J. Tornberg. Leyden, 1851-76.

**IBab., Ithbat.** Ibn Bâbûye [d. 381/991]. *Imamite*, Kitâb fi ithbât al-ŷaiba wa-kashf al-hâira, ed. Möller, Heidelberg, 1901.

**IBab., I'tikadat.** MS. Ibn Bâbûye (see above), I'tikâdât al-Imâmiyya. Cod. British Museum (Add. 19,623). See de Rieu, Catalogue p. 385.

**I. H.** Ibn Hazm [d. 456/1064], the author of our text. See Introduction, p. 9 ff.

**IHaikal.** Ibn Haukal [wrote 367/977], ed. de Goeje [Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum II]. Leyden, 1873.

**Iji.** Îji [d. 756/1355]. *Mawâkif*, ed. Sörenson. Leipzig, 1848.

**Ikd.** Ibn 'Abd Rabbihî [d. 328/940], al-'Ikâd al-fârîd, I-III. Cairo, 1293. *If not otherwise stated, quotations refer to vol. I.*

**IKhald.** Ibn Khaldûn [d. 808/1406], *Mukâddima*, ed. Quatremère I-III. [Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale voll. 16-18] Paris, 1847-1858.

**IKhall.** Ibn Khallikân [d. 681/1282], *Kitâb wafayât al-a'yân*, ed. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1835-43.

**IKot.** Ibn Koteiba [d. 276/889], *Kitâb al-mâ'ârif*, ed. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1850.

**Isfr.** MS. On *Isfrâ'înî* [d. 471/1078], see Introduction, p. 26.

**Istakhrî** [wrote 340/951], ed. de Goeje [Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum I]. Leyden, 1870.

**Kashi.**<sup>1</sup> Abû 'Amr Muhammed b. 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Kashshî (from Kashsh in Jurjân) [approximately 300<sup>h</sup>.<sup>2</sup> *Imamite*], Ma'rifat akhbâr ar-rijâl. Biographies of Shiitic worthies chronologically arranged. Bombay 1317<sup>h</sup>.—The author apparently draws on old and rare sources.

**Kremer, Ideen.** Kremer, Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams. Leipzig, 1868.

**Lubb al-Lubâb.** Suyûti [d. 911/1505], Lubb al-lubâb fi tahrîr al-ansâb, ed. P. J. Veth. Leyden, 1830–32.

**Makr.** Makrîzî [d. 845/1442], Kitâb al-mawâ'iz wa'l-i'tibâr bi-dikri'l-khiyat wa'l-âthâr, I–II. Bûlâk, 1270<sup>h</sup>. Draws partly on very old sources. *Unless otherwise stated, quotations refer to vol. II.*

**Masudi.** Mas'ûdî [d. 345/956]. Murâj ad-dahab, ed. Barber de Meynard, I–IX. Paris, 1861–77.—His information is incidental and brief, but extremely valuable.

**Mirza.** MS. Mirzâ Makhdûm [about 1594], Risâlat an-nawâ'îd fi-radd 'âlâ-r-Rawâfid. A polemical treatise against Shiism. Cod. Berlin; Ahlwardt, Catalogue No. 2136.

**Nawawi, Tahdîb.** Nawawî [d. 676/1278], Tahdîb al-asmâ' wa'l-lugât, ed. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1842–7.

**PRE<sup>3</sup>.** Protestantische Realencyklopädie, ed. Herzog and Hauck. Third edition.

**de Sacy.** Exposé de la religion des Druzes, I–II. Paris, 1838. *Quotations in Roman figures refer to vol. I.*

**Shahr.** Shahrastânî [d. 548/1153], Kitâb al-Milâl wa'n-Nihâl, ed. Cureton I–II. London, 1842–6. *Quotations refer to vol. I.*

**Sibt, Imams.** MS. Sibt Ibn al-Jauzî [d. 654/1257], Kitâb sîrat maulâna Amîr al-Mu'minîn al-Imâm 'Alî . . . wa-aulâdihi.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ellis, of the British Museum, kindly called my attention to this work.

<sup>2</sup> I have been unable to find any statement bearing on the age of this author. The date given in the text is based on the following calculations. al-Kashshî was a pupil of al-'Ayyâshî (edition of his work, p. 379). The latter is no doubt identical with *Fihrist* 195<sup>14</sup>, and Tusy, *List of Shy'âh books*, No. 690. Neither of these authors give his age. But according to Tusy, ib., al-'Ayyâshî "heard the disciples (âshâb) of 'Alî b. al-Hasan b. Fâddâl" who died 224<sup>h</sup> (Tusy, No. 191). This justifies the rough estimate given in the text.

A biography of Ali and his successors in the Imamate. Cod. Leyden (Warner 915).

**Suyuti, Tarikh.** *Suyūtī* [d. 911/1505], *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā*, ed. Sprenger and Mawlawī 'Abd al-Hakk. Calcutta, 1857.

— translated into English by H. S. Jarrett. Calcutta, 1881.

**Tab.** *Ṭabarī* [d. 309/921], *Annales*, ed. de Goeje.

**Tusy.** *Tūsī* [d. 459/1067]. *Imamate*. List of Shy'ah books, ed. Sprenger and Mawlawī 'Abd al-Hakk. Calcutta, 1853-5.

**van Vloten, Chiitisme.** van Vloten, *Recherches sur la Domination arabe, le Chiitisme et les Croyances messianiques dans le Khalifat des Omayyades*. [Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel I, No. 3.] Amsterdam, 1894.

**van Vloten, Worgers.** von Vloten, *Worgers in Iraq* [Feestbundel . . . van zijn tachtigsten geboortedag aan Dr. P. J. Veth]. Leyden, 1894. (See this volume, p. 92.)

**Wellhausen, Opp.** Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*. Berlin, 1901. [Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Neue Folge. Band V, Nro. 2].

**Wolff, Drusen.** Wolff, *Die Drusen und ihre Vorläufer*. Leipzig, 1845.—Based on de Sacy.

**Wüstenfeld, Register.** Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*. Göttingen, 1853.

**Wüstenfeld, Tabellen.** Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen der arabischen Stämme und Familien*. Göttingen, 1852.

**ZDMG.** *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

**Zeid.** *MS. al-Ķāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Hasanī* [d. 246/860]. *From Yemen. Zeidite*], a volume containing miscellaneous Zeiditic writings (19 in number). Cod. Berlin; Ahlwardt, Catalogue No. 4876. Contains reliable and, in view of the early date of the author, extremely valuable information.

**Zeid. Mutaz.** Ahmad b. Yahya b. 'l-Murtadā [d. 840<sup>h</sup>. *From Yemen. Zeidite*], *Kitāb al-Milal wa'n-Nihāl*. Chapter on the Mu'tazila, ed. Arnold. Leipzig, 1902.

**Yakut.** *Yākūt* [d. 626/1229], *Geographical Dictionary* ed. Wüstenfeld I-VI. Leipzig, 1868-73.

*List of Abbreviations.*

**Codd.** = Codices: the manuscripts of Ibn Hazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihal* in distinction from the printed edition.

**Comm.** = Commentary to Ibn Hazm's *Milal* published in this volume.

**Ed.** = printed edition of Ibn Hazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihal*.

**Introd.** = Introduction to this treatise in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, pp. 1-28.

**Milal** = the manuscripts of Ibn Hazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihal*:

Br = British Museum.

L = Leyden.

V = Vienna.

Y = Yale.

See Introd., p. 17.

**Note**, with a number following, refers to the footnotes under the *Text* (see next).

**Text** = Text of Ibn Hazm's *Milal* published in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, pp. 28-80.

Small figures above large figures indicate the line on the page referred to. When underlined, the small figure indicates that the lines are to be counted from below.

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[28] P. 28, l. 21 f.<sup>1</sup> I am not sure that I have correctly rendered the words of the original (Ed. II, 111<sup>2</sup>): **وإيراد ما شغب به** (LVY read **بها** من شغب منهم فيما غلط فيه من نخلته). The meaning of the sentence is not quite clear. It largely depends on the interpretation of the verb **شغب**. The latter, followed by **على**, **في**, or **بـ**, usually designates "to excite, stir up evil, mischief or discord, against or among people" (Lane). We have translated accordingly, taking **بـ** as referring to **الإسلام** and **بها** **نخل** in the preceding sentence. But our author, who is apparently very fond of this word, seems to use it in a somewhat different sense. Thus Ed. II, 131<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Vol. xxviii of this Journal, as already stated.

شَغْبٌ أَهْلُ السَّفْسَطَةِ، شَغْبٌ، i. e., casuistry or sophistry.” I, 20<sup>7</sup>: “the casuistry of the Sophists.” 19<sup>19</sup>: a certain heretic was convincingly refuted “وَلَمْ يَكُنْ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا الشَّغْبُ” “and nothing was left to him except sophistic arguments.” See also III, 214<sup>12</sup>, V, 79<sup>5</sup>, 80<sup>1</sup>, 93<sup>2</sup> (**مَشَاغِبُهُمْ**). Comp. Dozy sub voce “suppositions captieuses, sophismes” (from *Makkari*). The *verb* is applied by Ibn Ḥazm in the same sense and construed with ب rei. Ed. V, 15<sup>4</sup> ما نَعْلَمُ لَهُمْ حُجَّةً شَغَبُوا بِهَا فِي هَذَا 10  
“we know of no proof whatever which they could casuistically bring forward in favor of this nonsense.” III, 203<sup>5</sup> وقد شَغَبَ بَعْضُهُمْ بِأَنَّ هَذِهِ الْآيَةَ قُرِئَتْ لَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ بِضَمِّ التَّاءِ 15  
“One of them sophistically assumes that the verse (Koran 17, 104) reads ‘alimtu’ with a ‘damma’ over the ‘tâ’.”—In accordance with these quotations the sentence under consideration ought to be translated: “and to expound the *sophisms* that were brought forward by those of them who argue sophistically” بَهُ would then be the عَادِد (Wright,<sup>3</sup> *Arabic Grammar* II, 320A) of ما and the variant بِهَا would be an intentional correction.—**فِيمَا غَلَطُ فِيهِ مِنْ خَلْتَهُ** is somewhat hard, but it can scarcely be translated otherwise than it has been done in the text.

29, l. 1. Ed. as well as Codd. write, as a rule, **الْمَرْجِيَّةُ** [29] (or **الْمَرْجِيَّةُ**) both with Hamza and Yâ. This spelling may have been chosen intentionally, so as to embrace the two interpretations given to the word, the one deriving it from **رَجَأُ** “to delay,” the other from the root **رَجَوُ** “to inspire hope.” Comp. Shahr. 103, Makr. 349<sup>3</sup>, Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 90, note 1.

— L. 10 f. For the better understanding of this paragraph I insert here the synopsis of *Murji’ite* doctrines given in *Milal*<sup>30</sup> L II, 162<sup>b</sup>: **قَالَتِ الْمَرْجِيَّةُ إِلَيْمَانُ هُوَ التَّنْصِيْدِيْقُ دُونَ الْعَمَلِ**: فَلَمَّا حَقَّقُوا ذَلِكَ وَعَزَّمُوا عَلَيْهِ قَالَ جَهَنَّمُ بْنُ صَفَوَانَ وَالْأَشْعَرِيَّ

إِذِ الْأَمْرُ كَذَلِكَ فَهُوَ التَّنْصِدِيقُ بِالْقَلْبِ خَاصَّةً وَإِنْ أُعْلَمُ بِالْكُفَّارِ [29]  
 بلسانه في دار الإسلام بلا نيتّه<sup>1</sup> وقال محمد بن گرام اذ الامر  
 كذلك فهو التصديق باللسان وإن آمنَ الْكُفَّارَ بِقَلْبِهِ فنفر  
 سائرُ الْمُرْجِيَّةِ عَنْ هَذَيْنِ الشَّعْبَيْنِ وَاقْتَحَمُهُمَا الْجَهْمِيَّةُ  
 والكَرَامِيَّةُ وَالْأَشْعَرِيَّةُ<sup>5</sup>. See the detailed account on the Murji'a  
 Ed. IV, 204 ff. On the question as to the nature of "Faith" see III, 188 ff.

— L. 11. Abū Ḥanīfa died 767 C. E. Shahr. 105 admits that this famous Fakīh is generally counted among the Murji'ites.<sup>2</sup> He does so reluctantly, as the latter, in spite of their close relation to the Sunna, are considered heterodox, and he explains this, in a rather far-fetched manner, as the result of a misunderstanding. But inconsistently enough, he himself later mentions him among the prominent men of the Murji'a (p. 108).

<sup>15</sup> — L. 15. Jahm was executed for his heterodox beliefs towards the end of the Omeyyad period, Shahr. 19, 60. Makr. 349<sup>3a</sup>.

— Ibidem. On al-Ash'arī's (873–935 C. E.) doctrine see de Boer, 56 f. At first opposed, "he was finally considered so orthodox that anyone who attacked him was regarded as an infidel who deserved capital punishment. The devout philosopher was revered as a saint" (Dozy, *Isl.* 255). It is highly characteristic that Maḳrīzī, who quotes this passage almost verbatim (345<sup>16</sup>)<sup>3</sup>, omits al-Ash'arī's name both here and l. 17. Although himself a Zāhirite like Ibn Ḥazm,<sup>4</sup> he did not possess his courage or consistency to charge the patron-saint of the Sunna with heterodox views. The same consideration probably accounts for the variant in L and Y (see note 6). The printer of Ed. repeatedly endeavors to defend al-Ash'arī against the attacks of our author. In a footnote to this passage (II, 111)

<sup>1</sup> On the margin **بِلَا قَلْبَةِ صَحَّ**.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. IKot. 301.

<sup>3</sup> Maḳrīzī frequently plagiarizes Ibn Ḥazm; see Goldziher, *Zahiriten* 202; *Muh. St.* II, 269.

<sup>4</sup> Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 196 f.

he maintains that Ibn Hazm misrepresents al-As̄h̄arī's view, [29] ascribing this circumstance to the geographical distance between these two men (the former in Spain, the latter in Baṣra). In a footnote to III, 206 he asserts that the difference between al-As̄h̄arī and Ibn Hazm is merely verbal. <sup>5</sup>

— L. 16. Muhammed b. Karrām (died 256<sup>h</sup>, Makr. 357<sup>28</sup>) is counted Makr. 349<sup>9</sup> (comp. 357<sup>29</sup> ff.) among the Mushabbiha. On his view regarding the external nature of "faith" (our text l. 21 f.) see Ed. III, 188, Bagd. 4<sup>a</sup>. Comp. de Boer, 56.

— L. 20. On the principle of "Takiyya" see Goldziher's<sup>10</sup> article ZDMG. 60, 213 ff. It is of special significance for the Shi'a, ib. p. 217 ff.

— L. 24 f. See the chapter on the Mu'tazila, Ed. IV, 192 ff.

— L. 25 f. The three Mu'tazilites named here occupy an intermediate position in the question of Kadar: It is God who<sup>15</sup> creates the actions of man, but man has the privilege of giving assent to them. Shahr. 62, de Boer 56.

— L. 25. On an-Najjār (9th century C. E.) see Makr. 350<sup>3</sup>.

— L. 26. Instead of غياث (also Ed. IV, 45<sup>10</sup>, Makr. 350<sup>13</sup>) Shahr. 63<sup>3</sup> has عتاب (Haarbrücker 94<sup>8</sup> 'Attāb).—Makr. 350<sup>17</sup><sup>20</sup> counts him among the Mujabbira, admitting, however, that because of his other views he is generally reckoned among the Mu'tazila. He died 218<sup>h</sup>, *Fihr.* 182, n. 7.

30, 1. 1. On Dirār see Makr. 349<sup>1</sup>. Comp. Ed. I, 109. [30]

— L. 2. See on this famous Mu'tazilite p. 66<sup>31</sup> and *passim*—<sup>25</sup> His peculiar position in the question of Kadar, de Boer, 51.

— L. 5 ff. See Text 74<sup>19</sup> ff. and Comm.

— L. 14. The synopsis of Khārijite views given in *Milal* L II, 162<sup>b</sup> will serve to illustrate this passage: **قالت الخوارج**

<sup>30</sup>المَعَاصِي كُفُرٌ فَلِمَّا عَزَمُوا عَلَى ذَلِكَ وَحَقَّوْهُ قَالَت الصِّفَرِيَّةُ إِذْ  
الْأَمْرُ كَذَلِكَ فَقَتَلُوهُمْ وَسَبَّهُمْ نِسَاءُهُمْ وَاجْبٌ وَالدَّارُ دَارُ كُفُرٍ وَحَرْبٌ  
فَجَبَنَتِ الْإِبَاضِيَّةُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ وَرَجَعُوا عَنْ هَذَا الشَّعْبِ وَاقْتَحَمَهُ سَائِرُ  
الْخَوَارِجُ فَلِمَّا حَقَّقُوا ذَلِكَ قَالَتِ الْأَذَارِقَةُ فَإِنَّ الْأَمْرَ كَذَلِكَ فَالْوَاجِبُ  
قَتْلُ النِّسَاءِ وَالْأَطْفَالِ لَأَنَّهُمْ كُفَّارٌ فَجَبَنَتِ الصِّفَرِيَّةُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ  
وَاقْتَحَمَهُ الْأَذَارِقَةُ. See Ed. IV. 188 ff., Shahr. 100.

[30] — L. 15. The Khârijite named here was an intimate friend of the extreme Shiite Hishâm b. al-Hakam (p. 65<sup>11</sup>), Masudi V, 343.

— L. 17 f. The names of these three heretics appear in so manifold and puzzling variations that it is well-nigh impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion.

The father's name of the *first* occurs in the following forms:

1) حابط (or حابط) (*Milal* V 50<sup>a</sup>, L II, 145<sup>b</sup>, Masudi III, 267, Shahr. 18, 42, *Makr.* 347<sup>14</sup>, de Sacy XLII footnote, also in the

10 carefully printed manuscripts of Bagd. 49<sup>b</sup>, 136<sup>a</sup> and Isfr. 8<sup>a</sup>, 62<sup>b</sup>. We have adopted this reading in our text.—2) حابط, very frequently: Ed. Y in our passage. Ed. I, 78<sup>15</sup>, 90<sup>17</sup>, *Milal* L I, 36<sup>a</sup>, Iji 340, de Sacy, *ibidem*.—3) حابط L here (so probably also V, see note 8), Ed. IV, 197–198 (several 15 times).—4) حابط Ed. III, 120<sup>c</sup>.—5) حافظ Br. here, L II, 162<sup>b</sup> l. 1 (حابط).

Still more numerous are the variations of the father's name of the *second* person. It is found written as follows<sup>1</sup>: 1) مالوس (Malus) Ed. here.—2) قابوس (Qâbus) *Milal* V, 20 50<sup>a</sup>.—3) نابوس (Nâbus) Ed. IV, 198<sup>18</sup>.—5) Br. here (V

بانوس) (Ahmed bin Ayoub bin) مانوس (Manus) (Nâbus) Ed. I, 90<sup>17</sup>.—7) شahr. 43. (Ahmed bin Ayoub bin) مانوس (Manus) (Nâbus) Y here (L unpointed); Isfr. 63<sup>a</sup> (sic).<sup>2</sup>—8) ماذوش (Mâzûsh) (sic).<sup>3</sup>—9) يانوش (Yanush) (Ahmed bin Ayoub bin) (Yanush) Bagd. 103<sup>b</sup>.

We have followed this reading of Bagd., owing to the careful 25 punctuation of the manuscript (see Introduction, p. 27).—The ending —وس =os appears in all these readings. This most probably indicates Christian origin, the more so as the views of these men (see later) distinctly show Christian influence.

<sup>1</sup> Note 9 contains several misprints which must be corrected in accordance with the text above.

<sup>2</sup> “Mânusch,” as Haarbrücker (II, 419) transcribes the reading of Isfr., is impossible in the manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> Schreiner, *Der Kalâm in der jüdischen Litteratur*, p. 63, note 1, is inclined to accept this reading, and to identify it with the Greek. Νᾶβος which occurs as the name of several Syrian bishops (Harkavy, Hâhôkêr II, 17). But the latter name is transcribed in Arabic as نانا (Harkavy, *ibidem*).

The by-name of the *third* as given by Ed. is no doubt incorrect, [30] as according to the express statement Ed. IV, 197<sup>20</sup> al-Fadl was (as well as Ahmad b. Hā'it) from *Baṣra*. Instead of **الخرافي** we find: 1) **الحارثي** (Isfr. 64<sup>a</sup> l. 3.—2) **الحربى** Ed. III, 120<sup>7</sup>, IV, 197<sup>20</sup>; (V here **الخربي**; Br. L here and L II, 162<sup>b</sup>, l. 1<sup>5</sup> **الحربي**; L II, 146<sup>a</sup> (sic) **الحدبى** (3.—4). **التحربى** Shahr. 18; 42 **الحدبى** Iji 340. It is impossible to decide on the proper form.

The doctrines common to these three men consist mainly of the belief in the divinity of Jesus and a fully developed theory<sup>10</sup> of Metempsychosis; see the sources quoted above, especially Ed. I, 90, Shahr. 42 f., Makr. 347. They are usually mentioned together and designated as the pupils of the Mu'tazilite an-Nazzām (p. 58<sup>a</sup>), who himself betrays the influence of Christian doctrine, comp. Schreiner, *der Kalām in der jüdischen Litteratur*, p. 4.—According to Ed. I, 90<sup>17</sup> and Bagd. 103<sup>b</sup>, Ahmad b. Yānūsh (or whatever his name) was a pupil of Ahmad b. Hā'it.

— L. 18. On the term “Rawāfid” see Appendix A.  
— L. 19. On the Sūfis see Text 73<sup>2</sup>. The omission in L. Y. 20 (note 11) is probably intentional. Ibn Hazm as Zāhirite has naturally enough a particular aversion to the allegorical interpretation current among the Sūfis.

— Ibidem. Abū Ismā'il belonged to the radical wing of the extreme Khārijite sect of the Azārika (comp. above p. 9<sup>36</sup>),<sup>25</sup> Ed. IV, 189. Makr. 349<sup>5</sup> calls him Ismā'il and counts him among the Mujabbira.

31, l. 1. On the ‘Ajārida of the Khawārij see Ed. IV, 191<sup>a</sup>, [31] Shahr. 95. On the conception of “Ijmā’” see de Boer 38.

— L. 17. Mukātil is counted Shahr. 108 (comp. ib. p. 106)<sup>30</sup> among the Murji'a, but later on, p. 121, among the Zeidiyya.

— L. 20. See the names of these three Shiites in the Index.—On the close relation between the Shi'a and the Mu'tazila see ZDMG. 52, 216; 53, 380, 538; 60, 225, de Boer 43 ult. Comp. Müller, *Islam*, II, p. 9. The Shiites mentioned here all belong<sup>35</sup> to the Imāmiyya. Still closer is the relation of the Zeidiyya to the Mu'tazila. Zeid b. Ali (Text 74<sup>4</sup>), the founder of the former sect, was a pupil of Wāsil b. ‘Atā, the founder of the latter

[31] (Shahr. 116), who in turn is said to have received the “science of Kalām” from Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya, *Zeid. Mutaz.* 10 penult. Typical is the utterance Makrīzī’s (348<sup>25</sup>) “Seldom is a Mu’tazilite found who is not a Rāfiqīte, except a few.”

<sup>5</sup> 33, l. 23. “Went to the extreme,” lit. “exaggerated” = [33] **غَلَوْا**, This verb, which in the form of the participle (غَالِيَةٌ or <sup>10</sup> غَلَةٌ) has become the technical term for the Ultra-Shi‘a, originally seems to have had a wider range and to have been applied to other than Shiitic movements. Thus *Ikd* (249) has a special chapter on “guluww” in asceticism. Makrīzī applies this expression to all sects of Islam and states in the case of each sect the nature of its “guluww,” i. e., in how far it exaggerates the correct principles of the Sunna.

— L. 24. This view is held by Abū Ismā‘il al-Biṭṭikhī (p. <sup>15</sup> 11<sup>26</sup>), Ed. IV, 189<sup>6</sup>.

— L. 26. This view is held by the Meimāniyya, a section of the ‘Ajārida, Ed. IV, 190<sup>11</sup>, Shahr. 96, Bagd. 4<sup>b</sup>. They slavishly adhered to the restrictions in Koran 4, 27.

— L. 27. This view, too, is attributed to the Meimāniyya, <sup>20</sup> Shahr. 95 f., comp. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Korans*, p. 277 ff.

— L. 28 f. See Koran 24, 2; 5, 42 and comp. Ed. IV, 189<sup>4</sup>.

قال أبو محمد، وبعضاً أخواه جَسَرَ فَقَالَ: *Milal* L II, 25<sup>b</sup> l. 2<sup>1</sup>:  
يُقامُ الْحَدُودُ عَلَيْهِمْ ثُمَّ يُسْتَتَابُونَ فَيُقْتَلُونَ قال أبو محمد، وهذا  
خَلَافٌ لِإِجْمَاعِ الْمُتَيَّقِنِ وَخَلَافٌ لِلْقُرْآنِ الْحَرَّدِ.

<sup>25</sup> — L. 33. The doctrine of Metempsychosis was current among the Mu’tazilites, Schreiner, *der Kalām in der jüdischen Litteratur*, p. 62 ff. It was of vital importance for the extreme Shi‘a, to whom it served as a metaphysical substructure for many of their beliefs and practices (see Index s.v. “Transmigration of <sup>30</sup> Souls”). Shahr., Makr. and others mention a special sect called Tanâsukhiyya.—See also p. 26<sup>10</sup> ff.

[34] 34, l. 2. This view is attributed to a certain Abū Gifār, Ed. IV, 197<sup>17</sup>. L II, 145<sup>b</sup> is more explicit: **وَمَا غَفَارٌ أَحَدٌ**

<sup>1</sup> I cannot identify the passage in Ed.

<sup>2</sup> L II, 162<sup>b</sup> he is called as in Ed. **أَبُو غَفَارٍ**.

[34] شيوخ المعتزلة ورُهبانهم فكان يزعم ان شئم الخنزير ودماغه وغضروفه وجلده وألبانها <sup>sic</sup><sup>1</sup> حلال.

— L. 4. Comp. Ed. IV, 206<sup>6</sup> ff.

— L. 7. Ibn Ḥazm (Ed. IV, 199<sup>21</sup>) quotes in the name of Ismā'il b. ‘Abdallah ar-Ru‘ainī, an older contemporary of his, <sup>5</sup> who was known for his piety and asceticism, the doctrine “that he who has reached the highest degree of righteousness and purity of soul has attained prophecy and that the latter is by no means a special faculty.”

— L. 9. Instead of “pious” better translate “saints.”—<sup>10</sup> Comp. Ed. IV, 27<sup>6</sup>: “We often heard of Sūfīs who maintained that a saint was superior to a prophet;” IV, 226<sup>19</sup>, “a part of the Sūfīs claim that there are among the Divine Saints <sup>أولياء</sup> (الله) some who are superior to all the prophets and apostles, and that he who has reached the utmost limit of saintliness is <sup>15</sup> exempt from all religious precepts, as prayer, fast, alms, etc. and is allowed all forbidden things, as adultery, wine, and so forth.” IBab. *I’tikadat* 24<sup>a</sup> ascribes the same views to the ad-

herents of Hallāj (Text 69<sup>18</sup>):  
 وعلامة الحلاجية من الغلاة دعوى:  
 التكالى بالعبادة مع تدینهم بتترك الصلة وجميع الفرائض  
 ودعوى المعرفة بسماء الله العظيم <sup>2</sup> ودعوى أنطباع الحق لهم  
 وان الولي اذا خلص وعرف مذهبهم فهو عندهم افضل من  
 الانبياء عليهم السلام. Comp. also Ibn al-Athīr’s utterance  
 p. 14<sup>10</sup>.—One might think of reading instead of <sup>الصوفية</sup> <sup>أهل</sup> <sup>السنة</sup> instead of <sup>السنة</sup> (l. 8). But the author reviews the “exaggerations” of <sup>25</sup> each of the five sects of Islam (Text 28 ult.). The Sunnites in consequence cannot be missing (cf. p. 12<sup>6</sup> ff.).

— L. 12. The belief in Incarnation (*hulūl*) forms the basis of the cardinal ultra-Shiitic belief in the Divine nature of the Imams. Most historians of religion enumerate a special sect <sup>30</sup> called *Hulūliyya*. See Index sub voce “Incarnation.”

<sup>1</sup> The change in gender because milk naturally refers to the female.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 82<sup>19</sup>.

[34] — L. 13. On Hallâj see Comm. to p. 69<sup>18</sup>. Ibn Hazm effectively ridicules this belief in the divinity of Hallâj, Ed. V, 117. He repeatedly quotes Hallâj as the type of a (pseudo) miracle worker, e. g., Ed. I, 110<sup>11</sup> and elsewhere.

- 5 — L. 16. See p. 78<sup>25</sup>.
- L. 18. On as-Sayyid, see passages specified in the Index.
- L. 20. See Text 69<sup>5</sup> and Comm.
- L. 21. See p. 79<sup>22</sup>.
- L. 22. On Abû Mansûr, see p. 89<sup>14</sup>.
- 10 — L. 23. On Bazîg, see p. 95<sup>84</sup>; on Bayân, p. 88<sup>4</sup>.
- L. 25. See p. 24<sup>27</sup> ff.

[35] 35, l. 1 ff. Comp. a similar utterance of Ibn al-Athîr (VIII, 21). These heretics maintain "that all the religious precepts have an inner meaning, and that Allah has imposed upon his 15 saints and those that have perceived the Imâms and the "Gates" (abwâb, šûfitic term) neither prayer nor alms nor anything else." Makr. 352<sup>18</sup> quotes in the name of the Khaṭṭâbiyya (Text 69) the same specimens of allegorical interpretation, with a few characteristic modifications. Thus "Jibt" and "Tâgût" 20 (l. 7) are interpreted as referring to Abû Sufyân and 'Amr b. al-‘Âṣ, while Abû Bekr and 'Omar are represented by "khamr" (wine) and "maysir" (a gambling game), Koran 2, 216; 5, 92. This is no doubt an attempt to soften somewhat the insult to "the two Sheikhs" implied in the original interpretation. 25 Interesting, because reflecting the attitude of official Shiism toward these exegetic endeavors, are the two anecdotes told Kashi 188. "Abû 'Abdallah (i. e., Ja'far as-Šâdîk, see Index) wrote to Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb (Text 69<sup>4</sup>): 'It has come to my knowledge that thou assumest that "adultery" means a person, that 30 "wine," "prayer," "fasts" and "abominations" (fawâish, Koran 6, 152; 7, 31) mean certain persons. It is not as thou sayest.'—Someone said to Ja'far: 'It is reported in thy name that "wine," "maysir," "images," and "arrows" (Koran 5, 92) stand for certain persons.' He replied: Allah would certainly not have told his people something that they could not 35 know (i. e., understand by mere allusion)."

- L. 12. See p. 92<sup>12</sup> ff.
- L. 13 ff. See also Text 49<sup>3</sup>. I. H. alludes to the same attitude of the Shiites, Milal L II, 82<sup>b</sup> (=Ed. IV, 83): Jahm 40 b. Safwân and Abû'l-Hudeil, as well as certain Rawâfiḍ, deny the

eternity of Paradise and Hell (comp. p. 74). He then proceeds to refute Jahm and Abû'l-Hudeil. As for the Rawâfidh, they deserve no refutation, as they do not rely on logical demonstration (the last sentence missing in Ed.). In another passage (Ed. II, 94) I. H. elaborately argues against those of his co-religionists who “take it for granted that religion cannot be accepted on the basis of logical demonstration, thus gladdening the hearts of the heretics and testifying that religion can be established by means of assumptions and by superior force.” How deeply seated this aversion to argumentation was in Shiitic circles can be seen from the utterances of the famous Imamite Ibn Bâbûye (*I'tikadat* 6<sup>b</sup>), who devotes a whole chapter to this subject. I reproduce this interesting chapter in its essential parts:

باب الاعتقاد في التناهى عن المجدال والبراء في الله تعالى  
وفي دينه، قال الشيخ أبو جعفر<sup>1</sup> رحمة الله تعالى اعتقادنا  
في ذلك أن المجدال في الله تعالى سنهى عنه لأنه يؤدي إلى  
ما لا يليق به وسئل الصادق عليه السلام عن قول الله تعالى  
وأن إلى ربك المُنْتَهى<sup>2</sup> قال عليه السلام اذا انتهى الكلام الى  
الله تعالى فامسکوا<sup>3</sup> وكان الصادق عليه السلام يقول يا آبى  
آدم لو أكل قلبك طائراً لم يُشبِّعه وبصرك لو وضع عليه حرف  
إبرة لغطاه تريد ان تعرف بها ملکوت السموات والارض ان  
كنت صادقاً فهذه الشمس حلق من حلق الله فإن قدرت  
فاملاً عينيك منها فهو كما تقول والمجدال في جميع أمور الدين  
منهى عنه وقال امير المؤمنين<sup>4</sup> عليه السلام من طلب الدين<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the Kunya of Ibn Bâbûye.

<sup>2</sup> Koran 53, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Shahr. 148 mentions in the name of al-Warrâk (author of the *Fihrist*?) that this reply of Ja'far was transmitted by Hishâm b. Sâlim (see Index) and Muhammed b. an-Nu'mân (p. 59), who strictly followed this injunction till they died.

<sup>4</sup> i. e., Ali.

بالجَدَل تَرْنَدَق . . . . [7<sup>a</sup>] وَرُوِيَ أَنَّ أَبَا الْهُدَيْلَ الْعَلَّافَ قَالَ [35] لِهَشَامَ بْنَ الْحَكَمِ<sup>1</sup> أَنَّا ظَرِكْتُ عَلَى أَنْكِ إِنْ غَلَبْتَنِي رَجَعْتُ إِلَى مَذَهِبِكِ وَإِنْ غَلَبْتُكِ رَجَعْتُ إِلَى مَذَهِبِي فَقَالَ هَشَامٌ مَا أَنْصَفْتَنِي بَلْ أَنَّا ظَرِكْتُ عَلَى أَنَّيْ إِنْ غَلَبْتُكِ رَجَعْتُ إِلَى مَذَهِبِي وَإِنْ غَلَبْتَنِي رَجَعْتُ إِلَى إِيمَانِي .<sup>5</sup>

This elimination of logic from the province of religion is complemented and justified by the claim of a higher source of knowledge, the claim of inspiration (l. 14). See on this p. 54<sup>16</sup>.

— L. 22. The Ultra-Shiites are excluded from Islam by all orthodox theologians, comp. Introduction, p. 23, l. 1-2. I. H. sees in this agreement of the orthodox the force of an “ijmâ’.”

— L. 24 ff. The following significant passage was first communicated by Kremer (*Ideen*, p. 10) from the Vienna manuscript. Makr. 362<sup>4</sup> ff. reproduces our passage without giving credit to its author (comp. p. 8, n. 3). Ibn Ḥazm’s view on the origin of Shiitic heterodoxy is founded on the observation of the rôle played by the Persian element in the Shiitic movement, a view fully shared and frequently over-emphasized by modern scholars (see Introduction, p. 3, note 1). This view, which conveniently enough regards the introduction of “gūluww” (see p. 12<sup>b</sup>) into Islam as a treacherous act of revenge<sup>2</sup> on the part of the subjugated nationalities, is voiced also by other Muhammedan writers, comp., e. g., the utterance of Ibn al-Āthīr VIII, 21 (p. 14<sup>10</sup>) and Iji 349. I. H. gives repeated expression to this conviction in his *Milal*, comparing the treachery of the Persians with the deceitful attitude of the Jews towards Christianity, the latter having bribed the apostle Paul to smuggle the doctrine of “gūluww” into the new faith.<sup>3</sup> Thus in the chapter dealing with Christianity (Ed. II, 38) I. H. endeavors to prove that the Apostles were infidels. “Either they sincerely and firmly believed in the divinity of Christ and “exaggerated” on his

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Text 53<sup>1</sup> and Comm.

<sup>2</sup> The expression كَيْدُ الْإِسْلَامِ is repeatedly found in this connection, comp. Ed. IV, 227<sup>5, 13</sup> and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of notice that I. H. repeatedly quotes the latter view as being held by the Jews of his time.

behalf, in the same way as did the Sabâ'iyya<sup>1</sup> and the other sects [35] of the Gâliya as regards Ali, or as the Khaṭṭâbiyya believed in the divinity of Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb (Text 69<sup>4</sup>), the adherents of al-Hallâj (Text 69<sup>18</sup>) in the divinity of al-Hallâj and the other infidels among the Bâṭiniyya . . . , or they were seduced by the Jews, <sup>5</sup> as the latter claim, to corrupt the followers of Christ and lead them into error, in the same way as 'Abdallah b. Sabâ the Himyarite, al-Mukhtâr b. Abî 'Obeid, Abû 'Abdallah al-'Ajâñî, Abû Zakarîya al-Khayyât, Ali an-Najjâr, Ali b. al-Fadl al-Janadî<sup>2</sup> and the other emissaries of the Karmatians and Shiites<sup>3</sup> <sup>10</sup> rose to lead into error the partisans (Shi'a) of Ali."

Next to the Persians, the largest share in the importation of heterodox doctrines into Islam is attributed to the Jews, mainly on the ground that 'Abdallah b. Sabâ (p. 18<sup>36</sup> ff.), the founder of the first Shiitic sect, is said to have been a Jew. Thus I. H., <sup>15</sup> in referring to the claim of the Jews regarding the apostle Paul,<sup>4</sup> thoughtfully adds (I, 222): "This is something which we do not consider improbable on their part. For they tried the same thing towards ourselves and our religion, although this time they failed to carry out their cunning. I refer to 'Abdallah b. <sup>20</sup> Sabâ known as Ibn as-Saudâ,<sup>5</sup> the Jew, the Himyarite—may Allah curse him!—who embraced Islam in order to lead into error as many Muslims as possible. He assumed the leadership of an ignoble party, who stood on the side of Ali, so that they might profess the divinity of Ali, in the same way as Paul <sup>25</sup> became the leader<sup>6</sup> of the followers of Christ that they might believe his divinity. These are now the Bâṭiniyya and Gâliya,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. L. (I, 105<sup>a</sup>) and V. (160<sup>a</sup>) read Sabâbiyya, see p. 41<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See on most of these men the Index.

<sup>3</sup> المَشَارِقَ, "properment les Orientaux, était en Afrique le nom par lequel on désignait les Chiites" (Dozy s. v.).

<sup>4</sup> How widespread this belief was can be seen from the elaborate story, given by Isfr. (71<sup>a</sup>) and designated by him as generally known, how Paul at the instance of the Jews became a Christian, studied in the Christian monasteries and, having gained their confidence, smuggled into Christianity the belief in the Trinity, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. I, 222<sup>3</sup>. The correct reading in Codd. See p. 18<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. 222<sup>5</sup>. L. V. correctly كَالْدَى نَهْجَ.

[35] and the least heretical among these are the Imâmiyya." See more on the relation of Judaism to Shiism, p. 19<sup>10</sup> ff.

— L. 29. I owe the explanation of these two terms to a private communication of Professor Nöldeke: "Ibn Hazm's state-

ment with reference to **الآباء** and **الآخرين** is not quite exact.

**الآباء** are not the Persians as a whole, but those descendants of the Persians (mostly or wholly arabicized) who conquered Yemen at the time of the great Chosroes. In Yemen the 'Abnâ' were prominent as a class during the time of Muhammed and his immediate successors. The same name was afterwards (third century H.) applied in 'Irâk to the descendants of the Khorasanian warriors who won the empire for the Abbasids.—

**الآخرين** ('the free ones') properly designates the Persian nobles, (the *έλευθεροι* of the Parthians). About 600 C. E. the poets apply this name to the Persians in general, and later writers use the same appellation merely on the basis of a scholarly tradition." See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, p. 225, n. 5 and 342, n. 7.

[36] 36, l. 9. On Sunbâd (or Sinbâd) see Blochet, l. 44 f.

— Ibidem (note 2). "The form of the name is still very uncertain. I hardly believe that Ustâdsî is correct. **اسداسد** may represent many different forms of an Iranian name" (Nöldeke).

— Ibidem. On al-Mukanna' see Comm. to p. 70<sup>9</sup>.

25 — Ibidem. On Bâbak comp. Fîhr. 343 f. and notes. He was crucified in Surra-man-ra'â in the year 223<sup>h</sup>, Bagd. 107<sup>b</sup>.

— L. 11. On Khidâsh see p. 98<sup>10</sup>. On Abû Muslim, see Index.

— L. 20-21. Comp. Introduction, p. 22<sup>12</sup> f. and Text, p. 79<sup>20</sup>.

[37] 37, l. 2 f. *Fifty* prayers are mentioned in connection with the Karmatians and the Nušeiriyya, de Sacy CLIV ult. and footnote, CLXX. This is apparently based on the Muhammedan legend according to which Allah had originally prescribed fifty prayers, but, yielding to Muhammed's presentations, reduced them to five; comp. Goldziher, *Muh. St.* I, 36.—On 'Abdallah (l. 5) see Comm. to p. 71<sup>1</sup>.

— L. 7. On 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, also known as Ibn as-Saudâ, see Ibn Hazm's utterances pp. 16<sup>30</sup>, 17<sup>17</sup> and passages in Index. The identity of Ibn as-Sabâ and Ibn as-Saudâ is assumed by all

Muhammedan scholars, except Bagd. and Isfr. Tabarī's account [37] (I 2941; comp. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 91) differs in several essential points from the reports of the theological writers. Altogether the data on this enigmatic personality are as interesting as they are conflicting; they deserve to be made the subject of special investigation. He is generally considered the founder of Shiism, and this, in connection with his Jewish origin, sufficiently explains the endeavors of the Muhammedan theologians to charge him with many a heresy which developed in the later course of Shiism. His Jewish birth was a sufficient pretext for the Sunnites to bring Shiism in connection with Judaism. We saw Ibn Ḥazm's remarks p. 16 f. Kashi, in the biography of 'Abdallah b. Sabā, p. 70, plainly says: "On account of this the opponents of the Shi'a maintain that the root of Shiism and

Rāfiḍism (التشيع والرَّفِيدَةِ), see Appendix on Rawāfiḍ) was taken over from Judaism." The famous theologian ash-Sha'bī (died 103) is reported to have drawn an elaborate and odious parallel between the Shiites and the Jews (*Ikd* 269). He says among other things, with special reference to Ibn Sabā: "The Rāfiḍa are the Jews of this nation. They hate Islam as the Jews hate Christianity. They embraced Islam, not because they longed for it or because they feared Allah, but because they detested the Muslims and intended to overpower them."

On 'Abdallah's alleged participation in the uprising of 'Othmān see Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* VI, 124 f.—On l. 11 see p. 100.

— L. 12. On the Ismaelites see Shahr. 127, 145 f., Iji 349, IKhald. I, 362, Dozy, *Isl.* 259 f., Kremer, *Ideen* 196 f., Müller, *Islam* I, 588 f., Blochet 54 ff.—On the various appellations of the Ḥismā'iliyya see Shahr. 147<sup>7</sup> ff. and Blochet 50, n. 1. See also Text 73, note 1 and Comm.

— L. 13. On the Karmatians see Dozy, *Isl.* 268 ff., Blochet 61 ff., de Boer 82 f.—A succinct presentation of their doctrine, de Goeje, *Carmathes* 166 f.

— L. 15. On Mazdak see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser* 35 und *Araber*, p. 455 ff.—Similarly I. H. expresses himself Ed. I, 34<sup>17</sup>: "As for the Mazdakiyya (written with ق), they are the adherents of Mazdak the Môbad. They are those who believe in communism as to property and women. The Khur-

[37] ramiyya, the adherents of Bâbak, are one of the sects of the Mazdakîyya. They are also the secret (basis)<sup>1</sup> of the doctrine of the Ismâ‘iliyya and their (vital) element, as well as of those who hold to the doctrine of the Karmatians and the Banû 5 ‘Obeid (=Fatimides).”

[38] 38, l. 7 ff. The following sentences give emphatic expression to the Zâhirite conviction of the author; comp. Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 202.

— L. 15. The author has apparently in view the belief held 10 in Shiitic, as well as in certain Sunnitic quarters, that the Prophet bequeathed to ‘âisha, Fâtimâ, ‘Abbâs or ‘Alî, respectively, some mystic lore; comp. Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 118.

— L. 18. Comp. Ed. V, 26 penult.: “It is firmly established regarding the prophet . . . that he was sent to the red and the black.”

وقول العرب ما يُعْقِنَى ذلك 15 Comp. *Kâmil*, ed. Wright, 264<sup>2</sup> على الأَسْوَدِ وَالْأَحْمَرِ يُرِيدُ الْعَرَبَ وَالْعَاجِمَىَ .

— L. 23. “As he was commanded,” see Koran 5, 71.—I. H. uses the same argument *Milal* L II, 89<sup>b</sup> (not found in Ed.)

فَإِنْ كَانَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ كَتَمْ عَنْ سَائِرِ النَّاسِ مَا عَلِمَهُ عَلَى بْنِ 20 أَبِي طَالِبٍ فَلَمْ يَبْلُغْ كَمَا أَمْرَرَ قَالَ تَعَالَى لِتُبَيِّنَ لِلنَّاسِ مَا نُزِّلَ إِلَيْهِمْ فَمَنْ قَالَ أَنَّهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لَمْ يَبْيَّنْ لِلنَّاسِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ 25 تَعَالَى إِلَيْهِ بِلَ كَتَمْهُمْ إِيَّاهُ وَخَصَّ بِهِ عَلَى بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ سِرِّاً فَقَدْ كَفَرَ أَذْ وَصَفَ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِأَنَّ عَصَى أَمْرَ رَبِّهِ تَعَالَى لَهُ بِالْبَيِّنَ لِلنَّاسِ جِهَارًا فَبَطَلَ مَا أَدْعَوْهُ يَقِينًا مِنْ كُلِّ 30 وَجْهٍ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ .

25

[39] 39, l. 11. In accordance with his Zâhirite conviction, which strictly and exclusively adheres to the bare text of the Koran and the Hadîth, I. H. lays special emphasis on the reliability

<sup>1</sup> Ed. سُرُّ. L. and V. “شَرٌّ the worst.”

<sup>2</sup> Koran 16, 46.

of the traditionists; comp. Ed. II, 76<sup>20</sup> ff. and Kremer, *Ideen* [39] 138 ff.

40, l. 11. “The Mu‘tazilites, the Khârijites, the Murji‘ites [40] and the Shiites.” The same enumeration of Muhammedan sects (comp. Introduction, p. 21) Ed. IV, 2<sup>16</sup>: **جَمِيع أَهْل الْإِسْلَام** <sup>٥</sup> **مِنْ أَهْل السُّنَّةِ وَالْمُعْتَرِفَةِ وَالنَّجَارِيَّةِ (وَالْمَرْجِيَّةِ) وَالْخَوَارِجِ وَالشِّيَعَةِ.**

— L. 15 (note 6). The words **مَا لَا بَقِيَّةَ لَهُمْ بَعْدَهَا** I interpret in the sense that nothing remains to these infidels to boast of, beyond (=except) the infamies and lies to be found in their <sup>10</sup> Scriptures. The reading of L. and Br. **مَا لَا بَيِّنَةَ بَعْدَهَا** (with-out <sup>15</sup> **لَهُمْ**) I would translate: “beyond which (sc. **الْفَضَائِحِ**) no proof (is needed),” i. e., the infamies in themselves are sufficient to impeach the infidels. On this meaning of **بَعْد** see the glossary to *Tabarî*, sub voce. <sup>15</sup>

41, l. 15. Characteristic of I. H.’s truthfulness (see Intro- [41] duction, p. 15) is another utterance of his, Ed. IV, 108<sup>18</sup>: “If we thought that dishonest quoting was permissible, we should use as an argument (against the Shiites) the words reported (in the name of the Prophet): ‘Follow the example of those <sup>20</sup> after me, viz., Abû Bekr and ‘Omar.’ But this (tradition) is not true, and may Allah guard us from using as an argument anything that is not true.”

— L. 17 (note 7). Comp. Text 42, l. 5 and note 8. I. H. uses a very similar phraseology Ed. IV, 207<sup>19</sup>: “We have here <sup>25</sup> set forth the depravities of the adherents of heresy (he refers to the Murji‘ites) in order to cause people to flee from them and to frighten away the illiterate among the Muslims from becoming familiar with them and from thinking well of their corrupt words.”

42, l. 1 f. The heresies referred to are those of the Mu‘tazi- [42] <sup>30</sup> lites. They are quoted as such Ed. IV, 192 (in the chapter on the Mu‘tazila).—I. H. chooses them as specimens in his introduction because, in the original disposition of the pamphlet against the four heterodox sects, which is now incorporated <sup>35</sup> with his *Milal*, the Mu‘tazila occupied the first place. See my

[42] essay "Zur Komposition von Ibn Hazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihâl*" in *Orientalische Studien* I, p. 274 f.

— L. 17. See Introduction, p. 22–23.

— L. 18. On "Rawâfid" see Appendix A.

5 43, l. 1. The founder of the Jârûdiyya is called with his full [43] name *Abû'l-Jârûd Ziyâd b. al-Mundîr al-'Abdi*, *Masudi* V, 474,

*Kashi* 150, *Tusy*, p. 146 No. 308, *Shahr.* 121; *Fîhr.* 178<sup>12</sup> and *Makr.* 352<sup>24</sup> assign to him the additional Kunya *Abû 'n-Najm*.

10 Muhammed al-Bâkir (died 117) called him "Surhûb," which is said to designate "a blind devil dwelling in the sea" (*Kashi*, *Shahr.* 119), because he was born blind (*Fîhr.*, *Kashi*, *Tusy*). The sect was accordingly called also the *Surhûbiyya* (*Kashi*).

15 As regards their tenets, the Jârûdiyya variously differ from the bulk of the Zeidiyya, whom they regard as infidels. They share with the latter the central doctrine that Muhammed appointed Ali as his successor, not, as the *Imâmiyya* maintain, by means of a written will which the Companions maliciously set aside, but "by a description (of his qualities) without the mention of

20 his name" (*Shahr.*: **بِالْوَضْفِ دُونَ التَّسْمِيَّةِ**). But they differ from them in that they regard the Companions as infidels because they did not endeavor to find out the man to whom the Prophet referred and chose a wrong one in his place. According to *Shahr.* 118, *Abû'l-Jârûd* went so far as even to deny the *Imamate* of *Zeid b. Ali*, the founder of the Zeidiyya, on the 25 ground that the latter considered *Abû Bekr* and *'Omar* legitimate rulers. *Isfr.*, however, (9<sup>a</sup> ult.) insists that the recognition of *Zeid* as *Imam* is common to all Zeiditic sects without exception. It is strange that I. H. should omit the mention of this typical heterodoxy of the Jârûdiyya: the "Takfir as-

20 *Sahâba*."

As to the succession in the *Imamate*, the Jârûdiyya agree with the rest of the Zeidiyya that it is legitimate in the descendants both of *Hasan* and *Husein*, and in these exclusively, on condition that they are qualified for the *Imamate* and present 35 their claims with the sword in their hands. Of the three Imams quoted in our passage one is a *Hasanide*, the other two *Huseinides*.

On the Jârûdiyya compare also the account of *Bagd.* 9<sup>b</sup>.

— L. 2 (note 1). “al-Husein” is also found Shahr. 118, [43] Iji 352, Bagd. 17<sup>b</sup> (also elsewhere) and Isfr. 12<sup>a</sup>. It is known how frequently these two names are confounded.—Muhammed died at the hands of ‘Isa b. Mûsa, the governor of Kufa (died 167), in 145, IKot. 192, Tab. III, 189 ff. <sup>5</sup>

— Note 7. On Radwa see p. 36<sup>a</sup>. Bagd. 17<sup>b</sup> calls the locality حاجر جبل من ناحية بَجْد (with soft ح under the line). See further Text 60<sup>10</sup> and Comm.

— L. 7–8. The belief that the Imams have not died and will reappear on earth is the central tenet of the Ultra-Shi‘a, and occurs, as can be seen in this treatise, in connection with nearly every one of their sects. This belief is founded on two doctrines which must have gained wide currency in heterodox Islam at a very early period: the one is the Raj‘a doctrine, the other is a doctrine derived from heterodox Christian Docetism. It is necessary to gain a clear view of these two doctrines in order to grasp in its full meaning the conception which practically lies at the bottom of all Shiitic movements.

The doctrine designated as *Raj‘a* has apparently had its history and presents in consequence a complex appearance. <sup>20</sup> Kremer (*Culturgeschichte unter den Chalifen* II, 397), in speaking of this doctrine “which was widely current among the Shiites of the earliest period,” gives the following definition of this belief: “For a man to believe in the ‘Return’ (Raj‘a) amounted to the conviction that Ali would rise from the dead, <sup>25</sup> and that he himself would, after a certain period of time (as a rule, after forty days), come to life again.” According to the national dictionaries, Raj‘a signifies “the returning to the present state of existence after death, before the Day of Resurrection.” (See Lane, *sub voce*, and the authorities quoted <sup>30</sup> there.) It would thus appear that this belief in returning to life after death, which was known to the Arabs as early as in the time of Ignorance (Lane, *ib.*) applied to people in general, without reference to specific personalities. Jâbir b. Yazîd al-Ju‘fî (died 128, see p. 86<sup>11</sup>) believed in the Raj‘a, Muslim, <sup>35</sup> *Sahîh* (Cairo 1283) I, 51. This is more explicitly stated by

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<sup>1</sup> The pronunciation *Rij‘a* is recorded, although not approved of, by Nawâwi on Muslim’s *Sahîh* (Cairo 1283) I, 51.

[43] وكان جابر بن يزيد الجعفى على هذا المذهب وكان 18<sup>a</sup> Bagd. يقول برجعة الاموات الى الدنيا قبل القيمة. The poet al-Bashshâr b. Burd (died 167) held the same belief, *Agh.* III, 24<sup>o</sup>, and this is again explained by Bagd. 17<sup>a</sup> إحداهما قوله يرجع برجعة الاموات الى الدنيا قبل يوم القيمة<sup>5</sup> (يرجع strike out) كما ذهب اليه اصحاب الرجعة من الرافضة; similarly Isfr. 12<sup>a</sup> كما يقول بالرجعة قبل القيمة كما كان يقولها الرجعية من الروافض. Kuthayyir (died 105) expressed on his death-bed the conviction that he would return to life after forty days on a fine horse (*Agh.* VIII, 33).<sup>1</sup>

It seems, however, that this belief was, or became, mainly connected with certain prominent individuals who, by reason of their prominence, deserved a return to life. We find this belief repeatedly in connection with Muhammed. When Muhammed had died, 'Omar violently rebuked those who believed that the Prophet was dead, and he gave emphatic expression to his belief that he would "return" after forty days, "just as Moses had done," Tab. I, 1815 f., IBab., *Ithbat* 31, Bagd. 5<sup>a</sup> (here Muhammed is compared with Jesus). 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, the founder of Shiism (p. 18 f.), is said to have believed in the "Return" of Muhammed. Referring to Koran 28, 85,<sup>2</sup> he argued: "It is strange that people who assert that Jesus will return should deny that Muhammed will return, . . . Muhammed being worthier of returning than Jesus." "And he laid down for them the *Raj'a*." Tab. I, 2941.

As a rule, the *Raj'a* belief is found in connection with the Imâms of the Shi'a, in the first place, of course, with *Ali*. The

<sup>1</sup> This form of *Raj'a* is probably the real basis of the belief current among the Khâtâbiyya that they will never die (p. 72<sup>29</sup>).—An allusion to this belief is perhaps found *Agh.* XI, 75<sup>5</sup>: A friend of 'Abdallah b.

لأنه كان يقول الانسان<sup>46<sup>5</sup></sup> (p. 44<sup>11</sup>) was called al-Bâklî كالبقلة فاذا مات لم يرجع.

<sup>2</sup> Hallâj composed a book bearing on this verse under the title كتاب في ان الذى انزل عليك القرآن لرائدك الى معاد (Fîhr. 192<sup>13</sup>).

idea that Ali was hidden in the clouds, whence he would return [43] on earth, was very common in Shiitic circles (see p. 42<sup>15</sup>). The term *Raj'a κατ' ἔξοχήν* very frequently designates this belief; comp. *Lisān* and *Tāj al-'Arūs*, sub voce, *Nawawī* on Muslim, *Sahīh* I, 51, Kremer, *Culturgeschichte* ib. Makr. 354<sup>11</sup>: ٥ الرجعية

القائلون سيرجع على بن أبي طالب وينتقم من أعداءه. The Muhammedan writers, with extremely few exceptions, ascribe the authorship of this belief to 'Abdallah b. Sabā.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the ordinary sources, see also the interesting notice IKhall. No. 645 (p. 26<sup>2</sup>): al-Kalbī (died 146) "was one of the followers <sup>10</sup> of 'Abdallah b. Sabā, who maintained that Ali had not died and would return on earth." To the references given in the course of this treatise (see p. 42 f.) may also be added Madā'īnī (died about 225/840), who reports that al-Hasan, the son of Ali, protested against the belief that God would bring Ali to life on <sup>15</sup> earth before the day of Resurrection (ZDMG. 38, 391). How deeply rooted this belief was in the masses may be seen from the curious anecdote narrated by 'Abdallah b. 'Abbās (*Ikd* 269). A man called on him at a very unusual hour and asked him: "When will this man be brought to life?"—"Which <sup>20</sup> man?"—"Ali b. Abī Tālib." I said: "He will not be brought to life, until God brings to life those that are in the graves." He said: "You speak like one of these fools." I said: "Take him away from me, may Allah curse him!"

Next to Ali the *Raj'a* occurs in connection with his son <sup>25</sup> Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya. It was the belief of the Keisāniyya, and its famous champions were the poets Kuthayyir and as-Sayyid al-Himyarī, *Agh.* VII, 24<sup>18</sup>, VIII, 32<sup>6</sup>, 33, 34, XI, 46<sup>6</sup>; see also *Flawāt al-Wafayāt* I, 24.<sup>2</sup> *Ikd* 268 designates

<sup>1</sup> On Tabarī's account see above. Makr. 356 ult., with characteristic eclecticism, combines both views. 'Abdallah b. Sabā believed برجعة

على بعد موته إلى الدنيا وبرجعة رسول الله صلعم ايضا.

<sup>2</sup> They believed at the same time in their own *Raj'a*, pp. 24<sup>8</sup> and 26<sup>12</sup>.—Kuthayyir, who returns from a tour in the region between Mekka and Medina, reports that he has found everything absolutely unchanged "وهذا يكون حتى نرجع اليه وكان يوم من بالرجعة برجع "— "This will remain so till we return to it (after death)." Perhaps it would be more reasonable to read برجع and to translate "till he (Mu. b. al-Hanafiyya) returns to it."

[43] the belief in the "Return" of Ibn al-Hanafiyya as the belief of the Rawâfiḍ in general.

In the later development of the Shi'a we find the Raj'a belief in connection with nearly every Shiitic Imam. Numerous instances can be gleaned from Ibn Ḥazm's and Shahrastâni's accounts on Shiism. It was the salient feature in the controversies of the Shi'a and the belief which characterized the Wâkifiyya in distinction from the Kîttî'iyya (p. 50).

It now remains for us to state the relation of the Raj'a doctrine to the belief in the Transmigration of Souls (Tanâsukh al-Arwâḥ). This relation is perhaps best illustrated by the amusing anecdote (told of as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarî, who believed in Raj'a as well as in Tanâsukh, l. 26 f. and p. 28<sup>20</sup>). A man asked as-Sayyid for a loan of a hundred dînârs, promising to repay them when he (the debtor) should return to life. As-Sayyid answered: "Yes, and even more than that, if you will give me a guarantee that you will return as a man." He said: "How else can I return"? as-Sayyid said: "I am afraid that you will return as a dog or as a pig, and my money will be lost." (Agh. VII, 8. See the same anecdote with a few variations *Fawâ'îl al-Wafayât* I, 25). The former possibility is Raj'a, the latter Tanâsukh; in other words, Raj'a signifies the return as the same person, Tanâsukh the return as a different being. The two conceptions, though related to one another and, in consequence, often found side by side, are by no means identical and are distinctly kept asunder. Kuthayyir, as well as as-Sayyid, believed not only in Raj'a but also in Tanâsukh (Agh. VIII, 27<sup>21</sup>; he claims to be the Prophet Jona, ib. 34). But it is expressly stated that he believed "in Raj'a and Tanâsukh" (Agh. VIII, 27<sup>22</sup>). In the same way both expressions are found side by side Shahr. 125<sup>23</sup>, 132<sup>24</sup>. Makr. (354<sup>25</sup>), who enumerates a sect of Raj'iyya (see above), mentions in the same passage التناخية القائلون أن الأرواح تتناصح

القائلون أن الأرواح تتناصح

اعتقادنا في الرجعة أنها حق.

<sup>1</sup> In a special chapter on Raj'a, I'tikadat 12<sup>b</sup>: He promises to write a special book on the subject which may be identical with his *Ithbât al-ḡâiba*. Mirza 48<sup>b</sup> makes the Imamites respon-

a few isolated instances do the two terms seem to be used as synonyms. Thus IKhald. (II, 164) says

وآخرون يَدْعُونَ رَجْعَةً مَنْ ماتَ مِنَ الْأَئمَّةِ بِنَوْعِ التَّنَاسُخِ أَوِ الْحَقِيقَةِ

“in a kind of Transmigration or in reality,” i. e., returning in spirit as a different being, or as the same person. The same close contact between the two conceptions is apparently assumed, ib. II, 169.<sup>1</sup> Makr. 357<sup>2</sup> contradicts his own previous statements when he says: “From him (i. e., ‘Abdallah b. Sabâ) they also took over the belief in the concealment<sup>3</sup> of the Imam and the belief in his return after death on earth, in the same way as the Imâmiyya till this day believe it of “the man of the cellar,”<sup>4</sup> and this is the belief in *Tanâsukh al-Arwâh*.” Apart from these instances, which are otherwise not very striking, the two ideas are clearly separated from one another.<sup>4</sup>

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وَمِنْ هَفَوَاتِهِمُ الْحُكْمَةُ الْقَوْلُ  
 بِالرَّجْعَةِ قَالَ أَجْلَّ سَابِقِيهِمْ وَسَنَدْ لِأَحْقِيقِهِمْ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بَابُوِيَّةِ  
 الْقُمِّيُّ فِي عَقَائِدِهِ فِي بَحْثِ الإِيمَانِ وَيَجِبُ الْإِيمَانُ بِالرَّجْعَةِ فَإِنَّهُمْ  
 قَالُوا مَنْ لَمْ يُؤْمِنْ بِرَجْعَتِنَا فَلِيَسْ مِنْنَا وَالْيَهُ ذَهَبَ جَمِيعُ  
 عُلَمَائِهِمْ.

<sup>1</sup> The Prophet says to Ali: “Thou art its (this nation’s) *Du’l-Karnein* (Alexander the Great).” See de Slane’s translation, II, 196, note 4, and Comm. p. 28, note 1 towards the end.

<sup>2</sup> I read *بغيبة* instead of *بفِيَة*.

<sup>3</sup> The twelfth Imam, the Mahdi.

<sup>4</sup> We have dwelt on this point at some length because Wellhausen, *Opp.* 93, denies the explanation set forth above, and insists that *Raj'a* is originally identical with *Tanâsukh*, and that the meaning usually attached to it is a later development. His contention, however, practically rests on a single passage (Agh. VIII, 34) which, even if taken in Wellhausen’s interpretation, cannot stand against the numerous passages to the contrary. But the passage in question does not necessarily prove Wellhausen’s assertion. We are told that *Kuthayyir* used to give money to the little sons of *Hasan* b. *Hasan* (b. Ali; not, as Wellhausen erroneously has it, “*Hasan* and *Husein*”) and to call them “little prophets”: وَكَانَ يُؤْمِنُ بِالرَّجْعَةِ (similarly on the same page before). Wellhausen assumes that these words are meant to explain *Kuthayyir*’s

[43] It can be seen from the preceding expositions that *Raj'a* as such leaves the question open whether the Imam had really died, or whether he had merely disappeared and abides in concealment pending his reappearance. On the strength of the instances<sup>5</sup> quoted above one is inclined to assume that the former belief is the original one, while the latter is the later but the more popular one. It is in this form—as a correlative of “*gaiba*” (“concealment” of the Imam)—that *Raj'a* became a predominant factor in Shiism and still is the official belief of the Shiites of<sup>10</sup> today.<sup>1</sup>

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action, which can only have been the outcome of his belief in the Transmigration of Souls, and that consequently the two beliefs are identical. That Kuthayyir was an adept of Metempsychosis is repeatedly stated in Agh. (see in the text above). But the construction put on the explanatory words is not irrefutable. On the same page a similar action of Kuthayyir (he hugs Mu'âwiya b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far (see p. 45), who was a schoolboy at the time, and calls him a little prophet) is recorded without the explanation appended here. The words **وكان يومن بالرجمة**

**يشرب الخمر ويوم من بالرجمة**. In both cases the explanatory remark may simply mean to imply that the man in question was an abominable heretic, the belief in *Raj'a* being regarded as a sign of extreme heterodoxy (comp. Agh. III, 24<sup>a</sup>). At any rate, the weight of the passage referred to by Wellhausen is largely counterbalanced by the statement, Agh. VIII, 27<sup>c</sup>, that Kuthayyir believed in “*Raj'a and Tanâsukh*,” where the two ideas appear as distinctly different.

<sup>1</sup> By way of appendix a few isolated usages of the term *Raj'a* may find place here. Extremely interesting, but somewhat obscure, is the passage Agh. III, 188. Omayya b. Abi Salt, who is anxious to become a prophet, goes to Syria and repeatedly enters a church, while his companions have to wait outside. A monk who lives in that church had told him that there were to be six *Raj'at* (see the remark on the margin of Agh.) after Jesus, of which five had already come to pass. When he comes another time, he is told by the monk: “The *Raj'a* has already come and a prophet has been sent from among the Arabs.” Thereupon he gives up his prophetic ambitions.—A very peculiar interpretation of the *Raj'a* belief is found Mirza 48<sup>b</sup>, but, in view of the polemical tendency of his treatise, this interpretation may only reflect his own individual conception of the Shiitic doctrine. He says:

**الرجمة ان النبي وعلياً والآئمة من ولده يحييون في آخر الزمان**

This conception, which regards the death of the Imams as a [43] mere disappearance, indispensably needs a complement which should account for the fact of their apparent death, the more so as the Imams of the Shi'a, with scarcely any exception, all died an unnatural death. This complement is supplied by a <sup>5</sup> heterodox Christian doctrine borrowed from *Docetism*.<sup>1</sup> It cannot be our task here to trace the influence of Docetism on Islam. But it seems highly probable that this doctrine came to the Muslims through the medium of Manichaeism, which adopted this belief and gave it a definite shape. “The Jesus of the <sup>10</sup> Manichaeans then had no objective reality as man. His whole human appearance, birth and baptism were a mere apparition, and so were his sufferings. For it was not he who was really crucified, but it was an emissary of the devil who tried to frustrate the instructive activity of Jesus, and who, as a punishment for his wickedness, was fastened to the cross by Jesus himself” (Kessler, Article “Manichäer,” PRE<sup>3</sup>, XII, 218. Comp. Flügel, *Mani*, 124, 336 f.).

بعد خروج المهدى وقتيل الدجال ويحيى كل من الخلفاء  
الراشدين [47<sup>a</sup>] وقتلة الاتمة بالإجمال ويقتلون هؤلاء حداً  
وقصاصاً ثم يموتون ويحيون مرة أخرى وقد يبلغ مرتضاهم في  
المسائل الناصرية في هذه الأكاذيب الكفرات فقال ويصلبون  
وأعلموا أن كل أمّة أذرب فانهم ينتظرون من العودة.—  
أبا يكر وعمر على شجرة

—The word is used by Ibn Ḥazm (Ed. I, 139<sup>b</sup>) to indicate the return (of a nation) to its former state of power and prosperity: واعلموا ان كل أمّة أذرب فانهم ينتظرون من العودة: .

But the word can scarcely be said to have the meaning of a technical term.—Fictitious is the meaning ascribed to the word by de Slane (Prolégomènes d’Ibn Khaldoun II, 196 note 5): a new period of time during which every past event will return, or repeat itself. The passage referred to proves nothing of the kind.

It merely says رجوع الأُمُور إلى ما كانت which has nothing to do with the term *Raj'a*. In Ibn Khaldūn's text (II, 169) the meaning of the word is probably close to that of *Transmigration of Souls*, see p. 27<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On Docetism see Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (2nd ed.) I, 164, and the passages specified there in the index.

[43] This docetic belief, which afforded a satisfactory explanation of the alleged death of the Shiitic Imams, was readily adopted by the radical Shiites, and it often occurs in the very same form which Manichaeism had given it: that not the Imam was really killed, but a devil who assumed his shape (شیطان تصور بصورته).

We find this belief in connection with nearly every Imam of the Ultra-Shiites. On its application to Ali, which is undoubtedly historical, see p. 43 f. Bagd. and Isfr. mention this theory in connection with the following Imams: Ali (in the name of <sup>10</sup> 'Abdallah b. Sabā) Bagd. 94<sup>a</sup>, Isfr. 55<sup>b</sup> f.; Abū Muslim (see Index), Bagd. 100<sup>a</sup>, Isfr. 59<sup>a</sup>; Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan (p. 87), Bagd. 18<sup>a</sup> f., 97<sup>a</sup>; Ḥallāj (Text 69<sup>18</sup>), who is said to have stamped his features on someone else, Bagd. 102<sup>a</sup>, Isfr. 61<sup>b</sup>. The Imamites who believe in the "return" of the <sup>15</sup> twelfth Imam, the only one who was not murdered (at least according to the Imamic belief), and therefore insist that the preceding Imams are really dead, have no room for this belief. But it can be seen from the polemics of Ibn Bābāye that this docetic belief was widespread in Shiitic circles. After having <sup>20</sup> described the manner of (violent) death of the eleven Imams—a favorite topic in Imamic works—I Bab. thus sums up his position (*I'tikadat* 23<sup>b</sup>, in the chapter :

فَنَفَى الغُلُوُّ وَالْتَّفْوِيْضُ  
واعتقادنا في ذلك انه جرى عليهم على الحقيقة وانه ما اشتبه  
للناس أهْمَرُهُمْ كَمَا يَرْعَمُهُمْ مَا (مَنْ read) يَتَجَاهِزُ الْحَدَّ فِيهِمْ بِلَ  
شَاهِدُوا قَتْلَهُمْ عَلَى الْحَقِيقَةِ وَالصِّحَّةِ لَا عَلَى الْحِسْبَانِ وَالْخِيلُولَةِ<sup>25</sup>  
وَلَا عَلَى الشُّكُّ وَالشُّبُّهَةِ فَمَنْ زَعَمَ أَنَّهُمْ شَبَهُوا أَوْ وَاحِدٌ مِّنْهُمْ  
فَلَيْسَ مِنْ دِيَنِنَا عَلَى شَيْءٍ وَنَحْنُ مِنْهُ بِرَاءٌ.

This docetic belief, in conjunction with the *Raj'a* doctrine, enabled the Ultra-Shiites to assume a position which made them <sup>30</sup> practically invincible. The former made their Imams invulnerable: they were immune from death or murder. The latter made them immortal and carried over their living influence to posterity.

— L. 9. **حَتَّى يَمْلأُ الْأَرْضَ عَدْلًا كَمَا مُلْئَتْ جَوْرًا**. This phrase, <sup>35</sup> as is well known, forms a part of the *Mahdi* tradition, *IKhald.*

II, 142 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Der Mahdi* p. 13 ff. Apart [43] from this generally accepted form of the hadith, we also meet

حتى يملأ الأرض قسطًا وعدلاً كما ملئت جحورًا  
وظلمًا

IKhald. II, 149<sup>4</sup>; IBab., *Ithbat* 35, Diyârbekrî II, 288; Abu'l-Mahâsin (Leyden, 1855) I, 243<sup>9</sup>.<sup>1</sup> Bagd. repeatedly<sup>5</sup>

quotes the reading يملك instead of يملأ. One might think of a scribal error. But the following story (Bagd. 96<sup>b</sup>) makes this supposition impossible. Muğîra b. Sa‘îd (p. 79 ff.) acknowledged Muhammed b. ‘Abdallah as Imam. But when the latter was killed, Muğîra was cursed by his followers, who maintained<sup>10</sup>

انه كذب في دعوه ان محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن هو  
المهدي الذي يملك الأرض لأنه قُتل ولم يملك الأرض ولا عشرها

See also fol. 9<sup>b</sup> and Isfr. 12<sup>a</sup>, who gives on the same page the conventional form of the Mahdi tradition.

— L. 10. I have restored Yahya’s genealogy with the help of 15 Gen. Leyd. Comp. Tab. III, 1515<sup>16</sup> note i and 1403<sup>16</sup> (Addit.), where the editor equally substitutes Husein (not *al*-Husein, as he expressly remarks). Iji 352<sup>1</sup> has Yahya b. ‘Omeir.—Yahya was killed during the reign of al-Musta‘în in 250<sup>h</sup>, Tab. III, 1515 ff., Shahr. 119. The general of the Zenj (p. 98<sup>e</sup>) pre-20 tended to be this Yahya, Tab. III, 1745<sup>3</sup> (anno 255).

— L. 12 ff. The same fact is recorded Tab. III, 1518<sup>2</sup> فوجة  
محمد بن عبد الله لحربته (يعنى لحربة يحيى بن عمر)  
الحسين بن اسماعيل بن ابراهيم بن مصعب. Muhammed b. ‘Abdallah was appointed Sâhib ash-Shortah of Bagdad in 237<sup>h</sup>,<sup>25</sup> Tab. III, 1410<sup>8</sup>,<sup>2</sup> IKhall. No. 366 (in the biography of his brother and successor ‘Obeidallah). His pedigree, as given in our text and confirmed by Tab. and IKhall. (who deals bio-

<sup>1</sup> Masudi V, 181 gives also the variant كما ملئت شرًا وجحورًا.

<sup>2</sup> This Muhammed cannot very well be identical with the one mentioned Tab. III, 1314<sup>11</sup> who died eleven years earlier. They are erroneously identified in the Tabari index. In the last mentioned passage بن عبد الله is to be struck out with Cod. C.

[43] graphically with everyone of his ancestors), is absolutely assured.

Just as certain is the genealogy of Husein b. Ismâ‘il, whose uncle, Ishâk b. Ibrâhîm (l. 16), accepted a prominent post in the police of Bagdad in 207<sup>h</sup>, Tab. III, 1062<sup>6</sup>.<sup>1</sup> Under these circum-

stances it is difficult to account for the apposition **أَبْنَ عَمٌ** <sup>أَبْنَ عَمٌ</sup>

“the son of his paternal uncle” (l. 15). Perhaps our author confounds the fact mentioned here with the one recorded Tab. III, 1405<sup>10</sup> (anno 236), that Muhammed, the son of Ishâk b.

Ibrâhîm, dispatched Husein b. Ismâ‘il, this time his real cousin, to put down a rebellion in Fâris. Another not impossible,

though less probable, solution would be to explain **أَبْنَ عَمٌ** as a cousin of a remoter degree,—in this case a third cousin. Thus Tab. I, 510 (=IAth. I, 142) Moses is called the “‘amm” of Phinehas. So far the reading of L. Br.—As for the genealogy

given in Ed. and the other codices,<sup>2</sup> it can scarcely be correct

and seems to be an attempt to explain **أَبْنَ عَمٌ**.

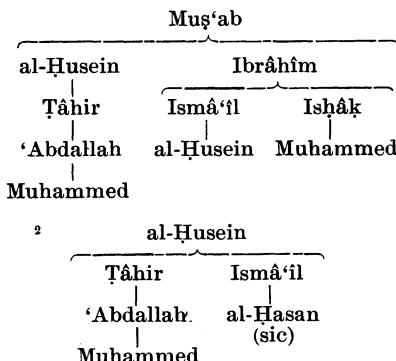
[44] 44, l. 1. The genealogy as given in our text is confirmed by Gen. Leyd., Ya‘kûbî II, 576, and Masudi, VII, 116.

Elsewhere Muhammed’s genealogy frequently appears in a mutilated shape. IKhald. I, 361 (also de Slane’s translation) has one link too much (Muh. b. Kâsim b. Ali b. Ali (sic) b.

‘Omar). Tab. III, 1165 and IAth. VI, 312 have one link too little (Muh. b. Kâsim b. ‘Omar). Shahr. 118 penult. and Iji 352 even omit two links (Muh. b. K. b. Ali b. al-Husein b. Ali b.

25 A. T.). Muhammed was sent to prison by Mu‘taṣim in 219,

<sup>1</sup> The relation of the three men mentioned in our text presents itself as follows :



and he died there, Tab., Masudi, Shahr. According to Masudi [44] (VII, 117), there were many Zeidites at the time he was writing his history (332<sup>h</sup>) who believed in the “return” (Raj'a) of Muhammed. His followers were especially numerous in Kufa, Tabaristân and Deilam. <sup>5</sup>

— L. 6 ff. Ibn Ḥazm's references to the *Keisâniyya*, which are frequent, though brief, substantially enrich our knowledge of this important sect. This at once shows itself in the explanation of the name, which is the only correct one among the numerous interpretations offered by other writers. The conventional explanation derives the name from Keisân, which is declared to have been a nickname of Mukhtâr (p. 79<sup>17</sup>), so the Dictionaries: *Jauharî* (comp. IKhall. No. 570), *Kâmûs*, *Lisân* and *Tâj al-Ārâs*, sub voce **كيسان**; IKot. 300, Ikd 269<sup>6</sup>, Makr. 351<sup>2</sup> (=de Sacy II, 592), Bagd. 11<sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, endeavors were made to connect the founder of this sect in some way with Ali, or with his son Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafîyya, whom the Keisâniyya regard as his successor and the heir of his mystic knowledge (a point on which this sect lays great stress). As there was a *maula* of Ali named Keisân (he falls, 20 while defending his master, in the battle of Siffin, Tab. I, 3293 =IAth. III, 247), he was declared the founder of the Keisâniyya and the disciple of Ali, or of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafîyya, in the lore of mysticism, see Shahr. (who distinguishes between the Keisâniyya and the Mukhtâriyya), similarly Abu'l-Maali 25 157, IKhall. ib. (who also quotes the preceding explanation, with the confession **والله أعلم**), IKhald. I, 357,<sup>1</sup> Makr. ib., Kremer, *Ideen* 375. An attempt to reconcile both derivations is the interpretation quoted by Bagd. (11<sup>b</sup>) “that Mukhtâr acquired his heterodox opinions from a maula of Ali by the name 30 of *Keisân*,” or the explanation recorded by Kashi 75 that Mukhtâr was called Keisân after Ali's maula, “who induced him to seek revenge for al-Husein's blood and pointed out to him his murderers.” Closest to the facts is Masudi V, 180: “They were called Keisâniyya because of their relation to 35

<sup>1</sup> The suffix in **مُو** literally refers to Muh. b. al-Ḥanafîyya, and so it is taken by de Slane, p. 403. In accordance with our expositions, however, the suffix must be referred to Ali, who is mentioned a little earlier.

[44] al-Mukhtâr b. Abî ‘Obeid ath-Thâkaffî, whose name was Keisân and whose kunya was Abû ‘Omra . . . *Some of them, however, hold that Keisân Abû ‘Omra is not identical with al-Mukhtâr*” (he refers for further information to his *Mâkâlât*).

5 The only correct explanation is the one offered by Ibn Hâzim (here and Text, p. 77<sup>10</sup>), who designates Keisân Abû ‘Omra as the *follower* (*shâhib*) of Mukhtâr. The person referred to is Keisân, the chief of Mukhtâr’s body-guard, Tab. II, 671<sup>1</sup> (= IAth. IV, 187).<sup>1</sup> He was a maula of the ‘Oreina, a clan of the 10 Southern Bajîla (Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, 9<sup>16</sup>), and stood at the head of the Mawâli. As the latter were the main actors in Mukhtâr’s uprising (comp. especially the characteristic notice Tab. II, 651<sup>2</sup>), the sect, which first asserted itself on this occasion, received its name (perhaps as a *nomen odiosum*) from the 15 leader of the Mawâli.<sup>2</sup>

So far the name of the sect. As for its tenets, they contain elements both of the Zeiditic and the Imamic creed, a circumstance which renders the classification of the Keisâniyya within the bipartite division of Shiism extremely difficult. Their cardinal doctrine is the recognition of the Imamate of Muhammed b. al-Hanâfiyya. But while agreeing with the Zeidiyya in rejecting the strictly legitimate principle in the Imamate and basing the claims of the Imam on his personal qualifications,<sup>3</sup> they strongly emphasize with the Imâmiyya his supernatural knowledge of mystic lore.<sup>4</sup> In consequence of this ambiguous position, the theologians often count the Keisâniyya as an independent sect, on an equal footing with the Zeidiyya and Imâmiyya, thus, e. g., Shahr. 109, Bagd. 9<sup>b</sup>, Isfr. 7<sup>a</sup>. The latter two, however, become unfaithful to their own classification and occasionally 25 reckon the Keisâniyya among the Imâmiyya: **والكيسانية يُعدُّون في الامامية** (Isfr. 14<sup>b</sup> (the same Bagd.). I. H., too, appears to

<sup>1</sup> Kashi 75 strangely misses the point when he states that Mukhtâr was called Keisân “after his *shâhib* ash-Shorâfah whose kunya was Abû ‘Omra and whose name was Keisân.” See his other explanation above.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 89, and the footnote.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Hâzim can scarcely be correct when he incidentally remarks (Ed. IV, 103<sup>4</sup>) that according to the Keisâniyya, Muhammed b. al-Hanâ-

fiyya was Imâm through a written statement (**النص**).

<sup>4</sup> Van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, p. 41–42.

waver on this point.<sup>1</sup> While in our passage he expressly [44] designates them as a branch of the Zeidiyya—and he is the more justified in doing so, as, in distinction from all other writers, he regards as the cardinal doctrine of the Zeidiyya the recognition of the Imamate in all the descendants of **Ali** (not **Fatima**),<sup>2</sup>—<sup>5</sup> he counts them repeatedly (Text 45<sup>14</sup>, 53<sup>12</sup>, 54<sup>11</sup>) among the sects of the Imâmiyya.

After the death of Muh. b. al-Hanafiyya, the Keisâniyya fell asunder into a number of factions. The most important of these was the *Hâshimiyya*, which transferred the Imamate to his son <sup>10</sup> Abû Hâshim and considered him the heir of his father's mystic knowledge, Shahr. 112. Abû Hâshim having died without offspring, the Hâshimiyya were again divided into a large number of factions, which assigned the Imamate to various pretenders. Only a fraction of the Keisâniyya, stimulated <sup>15</sup> by the mystery that surrounded Muh.'s death,<sup>3</sup> denied his death altogether, and believed that he was hidden in the Radwa mountains, whence he would "return." This belief, as is well-known, found its poetical expression through Kuthayyir and as-Sayyid, and became through them known as specific-<sup>20</sup> ally Keisanitic.<sup>4</sup> A notice by Bagd. (11<sup>b</sup>) has luckily preserved

شّم افترق الّذين  
قالوا بامامة محمد بن الحنفية فرعم قوم منهم يُقال لهم  
الكريّة اصحاب ابى كرب الصّرير انّ محمد بن الحنفية حيّ لم  
ييمت وانه في جبل رضوى وعندة عين من الماء وعين من  
العسل يأخذ منها درّته وعن يمينه أسد وعن يساره نمرٌ<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See Introd., p. 23, and Text, p. 75<sup>7-8</sup>, 58<sup>11</sup> and Comm.

<sup>3</sup> The year of his death fluctuates between 80 and 114! See IKot. 111, Masudi V, 267, IKhall. No. 570, and especially Nawawî, *Tahdîb* 113. The same uncertainty exists as regards the place of his death. See the above-mentioned sources and Barbier de Meynard in *Journal Asiatique*, 1874, p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> The dogmatic historians are very well aware of these differences within the Keisâniyya. See also Istakhri 21 (=IHaikal 28), Yâkût II, 790<sup>20</sup>, Masudi V, 180.

[44] **يحفظانه من اعدائه الى وقت خروجه وهو المهدى المنتظر**  
Similarly Isfr. 10<sup>a</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

The Radwa mountain (or rather mountains) is situated at a distance of seven days from Medina, Yakut II, 790. It was considered extremely fertile, and was believed to be one of the mountains of Paradise.<sup>2</sup>

The individual traits, with which the belief in Ibn al-Hanafiyya's sojourn in Radwa has been embellished, are properly intelligible only when we bear in mind their origin, as well as the origin of the underlying conception, which is no other than the Messianic idea. On the overwhelming influence of this idea over Islam, see de Sacy XXXI ff., van Vloten, *Chiitisme* 54 ff. and my essay "Die Messiasidee im Islam" (in *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage A. Berliner's*, Frankfurt a. M. 1903, pp. 116-130, especially 121 ff. and 127). This influence also shows itself in numerous minor details which the Muhammedan theologians, being unaware of their origin, were bound to misunderstand, and which they in consequence purposely modified. A striking example of this tendency is offered, in our opinion, by the detail, also recorded by I. H., that Ibn al-Hanafiyya was surrounded by beasts of prey. The original significance of this conception can scarcely be doubtful when examined in the form in which it appears in a poem of as-Sayyid (Agh. VII, 4). In view of the importance of the question, I quote the decisive 25 verses in the original, adding the vowels and a translation:

وقالت الكربية اقباع ابى كرب بآن ابن <sup>1</sup> Makr. 352<sup>a</sup> says briefly

الحنفية حى لم يمت وهو الامام المنتظر <sup>158</sup>.—الكربيّة اصحاب ابى كرب الضرير Is this Abû Karb, of whom nothing else is known, identical perhaps with ابو الكروس, whom Ali banished for his extravagant doctrines, Ikd 269?

<sup>2</sup> Interesting in this connection is Burton's remark (*Pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Mecca*, ed. 1898, I, 222): "I heard much of its valleys and fruits and bubbling springs, but afterward I learned to rank these tales with the superstitious legends attached to it. Gazing at its bare and ghastly heights, one of our party, whose wit was soured by the want of fresh bread, surlily remarked that such a heap of ugliness deserved ejection from heaven, an irreverence too public to escape general denunciation."

سِنِينَ وَشَهْرًا وَيَرَى بِرَضْوَى [44]  
 بِشَعْبٍ بَيْنَ أَنْبَارٍ وَأَسْدٍ  
 مُقِيمٌ بَيْنَ آرَامٍ وَعِينٍ  
 تَرَاعِيهَا السَّبَاعُ وَلَيْسَ مِنْهَا  
 مُلَاقِيهِنَّ مُفْتَرِسًا بَحْدٍ  
 أَمِينٌ بِهِ الْرَّدَى فَرَقَعْنَ طَوْرًا

“Years and months (has Ibn al-Hanafiyya been hidden). But 5 he can be seen in *Rađwa* in a glen among leopards and lions. He resides between land marks (?),<sup>1</sup> while big-eyed kine and the young ones of ostriches walk about at evening tide in the company of speckled goats. Together with them graze beasts of prey. Yet none of them attacks them to tear them with the 10 point (of their teeth?). They (the tame animals) are through him<sup>2</sup> secure from destruction, and they feed together without fear on the same meadow and at the same drinking place.”

There is no need to prove that this description is a reflex of the Messianic prophecy Isa. 11, and the parallel is far more striking when we take into consideration the orthodox Muhammadan belief that at the end of Time, when Jesus shall have re-appeared and introduced the Golden Age, “lions and camels, tigers and oxen, wolves and lambs will graze peacefully together, and boys will play with snakes without danger.”<sup>3</sup> This original 20 idea of the eternal peace extending over the wild animals can still be discerned in I. H.’s words, if we vocalize (Ed. IV, 179<sup>21</sup>)

عَنْ يَمِينِهِ أَسْدٌ وَعَنْ يَسَارِهِ نُمَرٌ<sup>22</sup>

and thus read the plural, which is also found in as-Sayyid’s poem (first line of our quotation).<sup>4</sup> In any event, the Messianic character of this conception was 25 misunderstood. The wild animals were taken to be the guardians of Ibn al-H. The plural was accordingly substituted by

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Lane s.v. *أَرَامٌ*.

<sup>2</sup> Through Muham. b. al-H. If the suffix referred to شَعْبٍ, we should expect *شَعْبٍ*, not *شَعْبًا*. [See, however, p. 38, n. 1.]

<sup>3</sup> Snouck-Hurgronje, *Der Mahdi*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> In our translation, p. 44<sup>10</sup>f., we have followed the ordinary conception.

[44] the singular, and in explanation the dual يحفظانه was added, which gives an entirely different appearance to the whole description, thus, e. g., Shahr. 111 penult., *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* I, 24, Bagd. 11<sup>b</sup>, Isfr. 10<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The other details recorded in this paragraph equally show traces of the Messianic idea.

“Conversing with angels” (l. 11) has its source apparently in the words of as-Sayyid (*Agh.* VIII, 32, Masudi V, 183) تُرَاجِعُهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ الْكَلَامًا <sup>10</sup> (comp. *Bet Hamidrash*, ed. Jellinek II, 29), he naturally holds intercourse with the angels.

ل. 12 apparently rests on as-Sayyid’s verse يا ابنَ الرَّسُولِ وَأَنْتَ حَىْ تُرَاقُ Masudi V, 183, *Dahabī*, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* VII.<sup>1</sup> Here the original conception obviously is that the Messiah gets his food from the outside. I. H.’s words remind one vividly of I Kings 17, 6.

Another form of this conception which strongly indicates Messianic influence is that which makes Ibn al-H. derive his sustenance from two fountains, one of honey, the other of water, 20 both flowing near him. Bagd. 11<sup>b</sup> (and Isfr. 10<sup>a</sup>): عَيْنَ مِنَ الْمَاءِ عَيْنَانِ وَعَيْنَ مِنَ الْعَسْلِ يَأْخُذُ مِنْهُمَا رُزْقَهُ <sup>25</sup> شahr. 111: نَضَّا خَتَانَ تَجْرِيَانَ بِمَاءٍ وَعَسْلٍ, comp. *Fawāt* I, 24. This statement is probably derived from a Keisanite poem which is generally assigned to Kuthayyir, *Agh.* VIII, 32, Masudi V, 182, 25 Shahr. 111, IKhald. I, 358.<sup>2</sup> The real character of this conception

<sup>1</sup> Ms. Strassburg (Spitta No. 12), in the biography of Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya. The Ms. is not paginated.—Comp. *Yākūt* II, 790<sup>20</sup>

حَىْ مَقِيمٍ حَىْ بُرَاقٍ ب. Istakhrī 21 (=IHaūkal 28) only has بَدَءَ مَقِيمٍ حَىْ بُرَاقٍ

<sup>2</sup> Only IBab., *Ithbat* 32, ascribes it to as-Sayyid. Similarly *Agh.* VII, 10, contrary to VIII, 32, and omitting the decisive verse,

تَغَيَّبَ لَا يُرَىٰ عَنْهُمْ زَمَانًا \* بِرَضْوَىٰ بَيْنَ عَسَلٍ وَمَاءٍ

Just what considerations led Barbier de Meynard (*Journal Asiatique*, 1874, p. 247) to decide in favor of as-Sayyid’s authorship is difficult to understand.

is revealed in the undeniably older form which is preserved [44]

Bagd. 94<sup>b</sup>. Ibn as-Saudâ (p. 18<sup>g</sup>) is quoted as saying: **وَاللَّهِ يَنْبَغِي لَعَلَىٰ فِي مَسْجِدِ الْكُوفَةِ عَيْنَانَ تُفِيضُ أَحْدَاهُمَا عَسْلًا**

**وَالْأُخْرَىٰ سَمَنًا**, **وَيَغْتَرِفُ مِنْهُمَا شَيْعَتُهُ**<sup>١</sup>, to which assertion Bagd.

reasonably replies (95<sup>a</sup>) **وَقَدْ مَاتَ أَبْنُهُ الْحَسَنُ وَأَحَادِيثُهُ بَكْرِ بْلَاءٍ**

**عَطَشًا وَلَمْ يَنْبَغِي لَهُمْ مَاءٌ فَضْلًا عَنْ عَسَلٍ وَسَمَنٍ**.

This “honey and butter” which is the food of the Messias seems nothing but the **חַמְאָה וְרַבְשׁ** which, according to Isaiah’s prediction (7, 22), “everyone shall eat that is left in the land. It is but natural that to Kuthayyir, who was at home in Najd<sup>10</sup> and Hijâz,<sup>2</sup> water appeared a more appropriate article of food than butter (or cream), which was accessible to every Bedouin,<sup>3</sup> the more so, since the Rađwa mountains were believed to be very rich in water.

— L. 16. Mûsa b. Ja‘far, with the by-name al-Kâzim, was<sup>15</sup> born 129 and died between 183–186, IKhall. No. 756, Tab. III, 649, see also ib. 2509. He was imprisoned by the Caliph Mahdi and, having been released for a time, again imprisoned by Rashîd. It is assumed that he was poisoned in prison, IKhall. ib., Shahr. 127. He was buried in the Kureish ceme-<sup>20</sup>tery (فِي مَقَابِرِ قَرْيَشٍ) in Bagdad, and his grave was still visited by pilgrims in the time of Bağdâdî: **مَشْهُدُ مُوسَى بْنِ جَعْفَرٍ مَعْرُوفٌ فِي الْجَانِبِ الْغَرْبِيِّ مِنْ بَغْدَادٍ بِيَرْمَارٍ** (Bagd. 19<sup>a</sup>).

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**إِذَا نَزَلَ (يَعْنِي عَلَيْهَا) مِنَ السَّمَاءِ يُفَتَّحُ لَهُ فِي مَسْجِدٍ**<sup>١</sup> Isfr. 56<sup>a</sup>  
**الْكُوفَةِ عَيْنَانَ أَحْدَاهُمَا مِنَ الْعَسَلِ وَالْأُخْرَىٰ مِنَ السَّمَنِ [وَهُوَ**  
**وَشَيْعَتُهُ يَأْكُلُانِ مِنْهَا (مِنْهُمَا).**  
 [add **وَشَيْعَتُهُ يَأْكُلُانِ مِنْهَا (مِنْهُمَا)** (read **وَشَيْعَتُهُ يَأْكُلُانِ مِنْهَا (مِنْهُمَا)**).

<sup>2</sup> Kuthayyir lived mostly in Medina; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litt.* I, 48. His poems are innumerable times quoted by Yâkût as *loci probantes* for localities of that district.

<sup>3</sup> This also would speak in favor of Kuthayyir’s authorship of that poem. As-Sayyid lived mostly in large cities, Brockelmann I, 83.

[44] The sect which recognizes Mûsa as Ja'far's successor in the Imamate, his elder brother Ismâ'il having died before his father, are called the *Mûsawiyya* (موسويّة or موسويون), Shahr. 126, Bagd. 19<sup>a</sup>, Isfr. 13<sup>b</sup>, IHaukal 65<sup>21</sup> and others. After his death his followers still denied that he was dead and believed in his "return."<sup>22</sup> They were for this reason designated by a more comprehensive term as the Wâkifa or Wâkifiyya (see p. 51), Shahr. 127; IBab., *Ithbat* 36.<sup>2</sup> Probably in consequence of their having been deceived in this expectation, the Mûsawiyya 10 were branded by their opponents as the Mamtûra: "those that were rained upon." "The belief of the Wâkifiyya attaches to Mûsa b. Ja'far. They are identical with the Mamtûra, and it is by this name that this party is known in distinction from other sects of the Shiites" (Masudi VII, 117). Zeid. says 15 وصف آخر من الروافض من اصحاب موسى similarly (fol. 104<sup>a</sup>):

وَقَفُوا عَلَى مُوسَى وَزَعَمُوا أَنْ مُوسَى حُى لَمْ يَمُتْ وَلَا يَمُوتْ حَتَى يَمْلَأُهَا (يعني الارض) عَدْلًا كَمَا مُلْئَتْ جَهَنَّمَ وَيُقَالُ لَهُمُ الْوَاقِفَةُ وَالْمُمْطَوْرَةُ. See also Kashi 287, bottom. According to Shahr., this nickname was coined by Ali b. Ismâ'il (p. 60<sup>a</sup>), who said 20 ما انتم إِلَّا كِلَابٌ مُمْطَوْرَةٌ. Bagd. ascribes it to Yûnus

b. 'Abderrahmân: <sup>3</sup> كان من القطبيّة وناظر بعض الموسويّة

فُقِالَ فِي بَعْضِ كَلَامِهِ أَنْتُمْ أَهْوَنُ عَلَى عِينِي مِنَ الْكِلَابِ الْمُمْطَوْرَةِ.

Isfr. again ascribes this utterance to the well-known Shiite Zurâra b. A'yûn.

<sup>1</sup> Kashi 286 tells a story which satisfactorily accounts for the rise of this belief. Two trustees of Mûsa, who were in charge of a fund of 30,000 dînârs consisting of taxes that belonged to Mûsa, had squandered the money while the latter was in prison. When Mûsa died, the trustees, fearing the claims of his heirs, denied Mûsa's death, and endeavored to spread the belief in his "return."

<sup>2</sup> The opposition of the "Twelvers" to this belief vented itself in the invention of utterances, usually put into the mouth of Ja'far, which violently protest against the Mûsawiyya doctrine. Some very characteristic specimens may be found in Kashi 284-288.

<sup>3</sup> One of Mûsa's adherents, Fîhr. 220; comp. Tûsy, p. 366 f.

—L. 20. The name of this sect is spelt **الناوسيّة** and [44] **الناؤسيّة**. Shahr. 126 is in doubt as to whether this name is derived from a man **ناؤس** or a place **ناؤس**.<sup>1</sup> The other sources have nothing to offer on the subject. The reading al-Baṣrī (instead of al-Miṣrī) adopted in our text is, apart from general<sup>5</sup> considerations, confirmed by the notice Isfr. 13<sup>a</sup>: **الناوسيّة وهم أتباع رجلٍ من أهل البصرة وكان يُنسب إلى ناؤس كان هنالك.**

The meaning of the last words is not quite clear to me. **ناؤس** is a vault, especially a sepulchral vault (Dozy, s. v.).<sup>2</sup>

—L. 21. Ja‘far as-Ṣādik was born 80 or 83 and died in<sup>10</sup> Medina in 148 during Manṣūr’s reign; IKhall. No. 130; Nawawī, *Tahdīb*, p. 195; see also Blochet 12. Ja‘far occupies a central position among the Imams of the Shi‘a. His authority is considered final. See on this unique position of Ja‘far pp. 79<sup>1</sup>, 89<sup>9</sup> and Index.

45, 1. 1. On Ismā‘il, see Index.

—Ibidem. The reading Sabābiyya (note 1) is frequently to be met with in MSS. See, e. g., Text, p. 71, note 13; Comm. p. 27, n. 2; Tab. III, 29, note k; Lubb. al-Lubāb s. v. **السبّابي** note d; the examples can be easily multiplied. The manuscripts<sup>20</sup> of Bagd. and Isfr., which bestow great care on the diacritical points, consistently read the same way. This coincidence cannot be accidental. The reading is satisfactorily accounted for when we bear in mind that the characteristic and most objectionable feature of Shiism, in the eyes of the orthodox, is the<sup>25</sup> **سبّ الصحابة**, “the denunciation of the Companions,” especially

<sup>1</sup> Yakut IV, 733 mentions a place **ناؤس الظبيّة**, near Hamadan. It is difficult to state whether this is the place to which Shahr. refers.

<sup>2</sup> Is mentioned among the celebrities of the Imāmiyya Shahr. 145 identical with our **ناؤس**? —Tusy, p. 186 (No. 400), says of a certain ‘Abdallah b. Aḥmad b. Abī Zeid al-Anbarī

**من الشيعة** Fih. 198<sup>4</sup> reads instead **قبيل أنه كان من الناوسيّة**. But the reading **الناوسيّة** is no doubt correct, as immediately afterwards a man is mentioned who also belonged to the party of Ja‘far.

[45] of Abū Bekr and 'Omar. Attachment to Ali without this denunciation is <sup>٩</sup>تَشْيِيعُ حَسْنٍ, Goldziher, *Shi'a* 443, n. 3, comp.

ZDMG. 50, 115. See Text 72, n. 2, and the characteristic anecdote, below p. 65. Typical is also the notice Agh. XI, 46<sup>o</sup>: The <sup>٥</sup>Keisânite Khandaq al-Asadî, having been assured by Kuthayyir that his family would be taken care of, denounces in Mekka, during the pilgrimage, Abū Bekr and 'Omar and suffers martyrdom for it. The Sunnites therefore designate the Shiites as Sabbâbûn, "denouncers", Goldziher, ZDMG. 36, 280, n. 1.

<sup>١٠</sup>As the name Sabâiyya is frequently applied to ultra-Shiitic sects in general (p. 100), it was for polemical purposes, with a slight change in the diacritical points, transformed into Sabâbiyya, or more correctly, Sabbâbiyya.<sup>١</sup>

—L. 2. On Ibn Sabâ, see p. 18<sup>٣٦</sup> ff.

<sup>١٥</sup>—L. 3. The belief that Ali was hidden in the clouds whence he would return on earth is ascribed by all theological writers (Shahr. 132 ult.; Iji 343; Makr 357<sup>١</sup>; see also IKhald. I, 358) to Ibn Sabâ. While many, or most, doctrines attributed to this founder of Shiism are apocryphal or of later origin, *this* belief <sup>٢٠</sup>is no doubt authentic. This conception must have become extremely popular among the Shiites at an early period, as numerous early authorities bear witness to it. Muslim, Sahîh (Cairo 1284<sup>١</sup>, I, 51) in the name of Sufyân (ath-Thaurî, died 161<sup>٢</sup>).

ان الرافضة يقول ان علياً في السحاب : (61) Zeid. fol. 104<sup>٤</sup>

<sup>٢٥</sup>mentions a special sect called as-Sâhâbiyya

يُقال لهم السحابية وهم يزعمون ان علياً حيًّا لم يمت يسوق

العرب والجم بعصاهم وهم يزعمون ان علياً في السحاب . Abu'l-

Maali 158 calls the founder of this sect Muhammed b. Ya'kûb

اليعقوبية اصحاب ملحم بن يعقوب ايشان ثويند على هركاه

<sup>١</sup>Curiously enough there was also a sect called Sabbâbiyya, named after Sabbâb, a client of the Omeyyad family, which throughout the Omeyyad reign stood up for this dynasty and denounced its enemies, Agh. XIV, 162.—A certain 'Abdallah b. Sabbâb is mentioned Ikd 269, immediately after 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, as one whom Ali banished for his extravagant doctrines. But I have nowhere found any reference to this person.

در میان ابر بد نیا آید. 'Abdallah b. Lahí'a, the well-known [45] Shiitic traditionist (died 174), "who was a silly, weak-minded old man, believed that Ali was in the clouds. He would sit in our midst, then look up to the clouds and exclaim: 'Here is Ali, passing in the clouds !'" (IKhald. II, 155, quoting from 5 an-Nasá'i, died 757<sup>h</sup>). The poet Ishák b. Suweid al-'Adawi<sup>1</sup> ridicules in a much-quoted poem<sup>2</sup> "the people who greet the clouds when they mention Ali." This belief spread the more easily, as Ali's grave was unknown,<sup>3</sup> Damírî, *Hayát al-Hayawán* (Bûlák 1284<sup>h</sup>) II, 267. According to Ibn Asákir (died 571),<sup>4</sup> 10 the camel which was carrying Ali's body to Medina to be buried there disappeared with the body: "for this reason the people of 'Irák say he is in the clouds."

On the Messianic basis of this conception, see my essay "Die Messiasidee im Islam," p. 125. <sup>15</sup>

—L. 9 ff. This utterance of Ibn Sabâ is in all probability derived from the anecdote told by Jâhîz, *Bayân* (Cairo 1313<sup>h</sup>) II, 73,<sup>5</sup> on the authority of ash-Sha'bî (d. 103). A certain Jarír b. Keis met Ibn as-Saudâ (=Ibn Sabâ) in Madâin.<sup>6</sup> "He (Ibn Sabâ) said: What is the news? I said: the Commander 20 of the Faithful (=Ali) has been killed . . . He said: Even if you had brought us his brain in a hundred bags, we would surely know that he would not die till he should drive you with his stick." Bagd. 94<sup>a</sup> tells the same story, perhaps drawing

وقد روى عن عامر <sup>25</sup> من رواية سعيد بن جعفر عن أبي شراحيل الشعبي أن ابن سبا قيل له أن عليا قد قُتل فقال

<sup>1</sup> Bagd. 94<sup>b</sup>, 43<sup>a</sup>. **العدري**. He was a contemporary of Wâsil b. 'Atâ, ib.

<sup>2</sup> Bagd. ib.: Isfr. 29<sup>b</sup>; Kâmil ed. Wright 546<sup>g</sup>; Ikd 267.

<sup>3</sup> The Imamites, however, insist that he was buried in **قرى** in Kufa, Abu'l-Maali, 164; IBab., *I'tikadat* 22<sup>b</sup>. Their motive is plain, see p. 30<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Suyuṭî, *Ta'rîkh* 175, also by ad-Dimîshkî al-Karamânî, *Akhbâr ad-Duwal* (on the margin of I. Athîr's *Ta'rîkh*, Bulak, 1290<sup>h</sup>) I, 221<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> I. H. quotes Jâhîz also Text 50<sup>g</sup> and elsewhere.—The passage in *Bayân* was pointed out to me by the late van Vloten, Leyden.

<sup>6</sup> Ali banished Ibn Sabâ to Madâin, Shahr. 132, Ikd 269, Bagd. 6<sup>b</sup>, 94<sup>a</sup>.

لَهُ لِنْ (أَعْنَى read جَئْتُمُونَا بِدِمَاغِهِ فِي صَرَّةِ لَمْ نَصْدِقْ بِمُوتِهِ) [45]

لَأَنَّهُ لَا يَمُوتُ حَتَّى يَنْزَلُ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ وَيُمْلِكُ الْأَرْضَ بِحَذَافِيرِهَا.

The reading adopted in the text (note 6) is in accordance with these quotations.

5 On the two doctrines (Raj'a and Docetism) underlying Ibn Sabâ's utterance, see p. 23 ff.

—L. 12 ff. The following are counted among the Keisâniyya, because they regarded their Imams as the successors of Abû Hâshim, the son of Muhammed b. al-Hanafîyya (p. 89<sup>1</sup>).

10 —L. 13. On Abû Muslim, see Index.

—L. 15 ff. 'Abdallah rose under the last Omeyyad Caliph in 127, see the elaborate accounts of Agh. XI, 66 ff.; Tab. II, 1879 ff.; IAth. V, 246. He was forced to give up Kufa and to retreat into the mountains of Media. He was in temporary possession of the province of Fâris, and—this is significant in connection with l. 16—the mountains of Isbahân. He went so far as to strike his own coins (ZDMG. 46, 443). He was killed in 129 by order of Abû Muslim, Tab. II, 1976=IAth. V, 282. See about him also Text 71<sup>14</sup>.—Gen. Leyd. has the following notice about

عبد الله الشاعر الخطيب المترسل قبض (قبضَ read) 20  
عليه أبو مسلم صاحب الدولة العباسية وحبسه بهراة وقيل  
(وُقُتُلَ read) بها وقبُرُه بموقع يقال له قهندس (sic) من هراة  
وكان له ولد وانقرض.

His followers were called Janâhiyya, Bagd. 97<sup>b</sup>, 103<sup>b</sup>; Isfr. 25 57<sup>a</sup><sup>1</sup>; Iji 345; Makr. 353<sup>11</sup>, because his father<sup>2</sup> Mu'awiya bore the by-name Dâ'l-Janâhein, see especially Nawawî, *Tahâdîb* 339.

On the Imamate of the descendants of Ja'far b. Abî Tâlib see I. H.'s remark (Ed. IV. 90<sup>19</sup>): "one party says: the

<sup>1</sup> أَنْبَاعُ عبد الله بْنِ الْمَغْبِرَةِ (sic) بْنِ أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ بْنِ طَالِبٍ بْنِ عَمْوَنَ (sic).

<sup>2</sup> On the sects deriving their name from the father's name of the founder see Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75, n. 2.

Imamate is permissible only in the descendants of Ja'far b. Abî [45] Tâlib. Subsequently they confined it to 'Abdallah b. Mu'âwiya b. Abdallah b. Ja'far b. A. T.'

His father Mu'âwiya<sup>2</sup> must already have enjoyed a similar distinction. When he still was a school boy, the Keisanite—this is important on account of l. 14—Kuthayyir would hug him fondly and say to him: "Thou art one of the little prophets" (Agh. VIII, 34, see p. 27, note 4.)

—L. 20. 'Abdallah's teachings as described by Bagd., Iji and Makr. are in the nature of other ultra-Shiitic doctrines: God's<sup>10</sup> successive incarnation in the prophets and Imams,<sup>3</sup> the belief in Transmigration of Souls coupled with the denial of Resurrection (see p. 74) and the allegorical interpretation of the Koran, Iji, Makr.=de Sacy II, 595.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. erroneously Ali. Cod. L. II, 86<sup>a</sup> has the correct reading.

<sup>2</sup> Interesting is the remark of Sibî, Imams: (read <sup>اَحَدٌ</sup> <sup>وَلَمْ يَسِمْ اَحَدًا</sup>)

من بنى هاشم وَلَدَه معاويةَ الْأَبْعَدُ اللَّهُ بْنُ جعفر فهجرة  
بنو هاشم لذلك ولم يعتد (يعيّل) <sup>(read</sup> عليه اَحَدٌ منهم الْأَبْعَدُ<sup>)</sup>. القليل  
انفرض بل له بقية من <sup>—Of his offspring</sup> Gen. Leyd. says: ولد  
ولده باصبهان وغيرها من الجبال ورأيت مع الصوفية رجلاً  
صوفياً ولد في اصبهان . . . يذكر انه من ولد محمد بن صالح  
بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر ولم يتسع لي الزمان في  
مسئلته عن سلفه وما بقى من أهل هذا البيت.

وزعم انه هو الامام بعد علىٰ وآولاده من صلبته<sup>4</sup> Bagd. 97<sup>b</sup>  
فبایعوه علىٰ امامته ورجعوا الى الكوفة وحكوا لآتباعهم ان  
عبد الله بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر زعم انه رب وان روح  
الله كانت في آدم ثم في شيث ثم دارت في الانبياء

breaks off. Between 97<sup>b</sup> and 98<sup>a</sup> something (in all probability one leaf) is missing. This is to be added to Ahwardt's Catalogue No. 2800. On this doctrine of successive incarnation see Text 68<sup>1</sup> and Comm.

[45] On the belief in 'Abdallah's concealment (*gaiba*) in the mountains of Iṣbahān see especially Iji (who writes اصفهان) and Isfr. 57<sup>a</sup>.

— L. 22. On the Dahriyya see de Boer 80.—One of his 5 table companions was called al-Baklī, because he was of the opinion that man is like a vegetable (al-bakl) “and when he dies, he does not return (on earth)”, see p. 24, n. 1, Agh. XI, 75. 'Abdallah's Sāhib ash-Shortah is said to have been a Dahrite, *ibidem*.

<sup>10</sup> 46, l. 2 ff. The same belief of the Jews in four Immortals [46] is mentioned by I. H., Ed. I, 187, in a brief survey on Jewish history. After Joshua it was Phinehas who ruled over the Jews for twenty-five years. <sup>1</sup>“A large section of them (the Jews) maintain that he is alive till this day, he and three persons besides him, viz., Ilyās (Elijah) the Prophet, the Aronide,<sup>2</sup> Malkiṣidek<sup>3</sup> b. Fālīg<sup>4</sup> b. 'Ābir [b. Shāliḥ]<sup>5</sup> b. Arfahshād b. Sām b. Nūh, the servant whom Ibrāhīm dispatched to woo Ribkā,<sup>6</sup> the daughter of Batuīl,<sup>7</sup> the son of Nākhūr, the brother of Ibrāhīm.”

<sup>20</sup> In our passage (p. 46, note 1) L. Br. also add the name of Methuselah. But it is clear from the parallel quoted here that the name came in by mistake.<sup>8</sup>

As to the four others above-mentioned, there can scarcely be any doubt that, as far as Malchizedek is concerned, I. H. con-

<sup>1</sup> The following variants are taken from Codd. L. and V.—L. agrees with Ed. See Introd., p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> V. missing. See p. 47<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> V. missing.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. فالح, L. V. فالح.

<sup>5</sup> V. (sic). Ed. L. missing. Supplied in view of Gen. 10, 24.

<sup>6</sup> So L. V.—Ed. رَفِيق.

<sup>7</sup> L. V. بَشَوَال.

<sup>8</sup> Methusalem is reputed in Jewish tradition as a perfectly righteous man,” *Aboth di R. Nathan*, ed-Schechter, ch. 32, and he is counted among the seven Long-lived, *Baba Bathra*, fol. 121<sup>b</sup>, comp. Goldziher, *Kitāb al-Mu‘ammarīn*, p. XLII. But this has nothing to do with immortality. Perhaps he is confounded here with his father Enoch.

ounds the Jews with the Christians. M.'s immortality is taught [46] as early as in the Epistle to the Hebrews 1, 8; 7, 3 ff., and it is known from the polemics of the Church fathers to what extent this belief, which found expression in a special sect called Malchizedekites, was spread among Christian sectarians. <sup>5</sup>

The genealogy of M. as given by I. H. (and other writers) is only a modification of the early Jewish tradition (also recorded by the Church fathers) which identifies him with Sem, the son of Noah; see Louis Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern* I, 118, II, 104. <sup>10</sup>

Eliezer, "the servant of Ibrâhîm," is mentioned among the nine Immortals who entered Paradise while still alive, *Derekh Eres Zûta*, ch. 1. It is worthy of notice that in neither passage is Eliezer mentioned by name. He was probably designated in Jewish circles merely as **עבד אכזרם**. <sup>15</sup>

Elijah's immortality, which is, of course, a direct consequence of the Biblical report, is already implied in Sirach 48<sup>10-11</sup>. On the Rabbinical legends clustering around Elijah see the exhaustive article (by Louis Ginzberg) in *Jewish Encyclopedia* V, 122 ff.—The notion that he was a Kôhen, "an Aronide," is <sup>20</sup> very old and already known to the Church fathers, *Jew. Enc.* V, 122<sup>a</sup> bottom; Ginzberg, *Die Haggada* II, pp. 76–80.

Phinehas is in Jewish tradition commonly identified with Elijah. This identification is very old and already known to Origen, Ginzberg, *Die Haggada* II, p. 78. <sup>25</sup>

— Note 7, l. 2. Read **عقلسيب** "brainless" (Turkish).

— L. 8. The literature on al-Khadîr is too extensive to be recorded here in detail. The best accounts on the Khadîr legends are found in Thâ'labî's 'Arâîs (Cairo 1306<sup>h</sup>), p. 137 ff., Damîrî, *Hayât al-Hayawân* (Bûlâk 1284<sup>h</sup>) I, 338 ff. (sub voce <sup>30</sup> حوت موسى) and *Tâj al-'Arûs* III, 187 (sub voce <sup>35</sup> الخضر). The ubiquitous prophet is particularly popular with the Sûfis (see espec. *Tâj* ib.), just as Elijah is with the Jewish mystics. The famous Sûfi Ibn al-'Arabî (died 638<sup>h</sup>)—to quote one instance out of many—records in his al-Futûhât al-Makkiyya numerous conversations with al-Khadîr, Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 103, comp. p. 71 note.

The Shiitic sects which believe in the "concealment" and "return" (gâiba and raj'a, p. 28) of their Imams quote in con-

[46] firmation of their belief the continued existence of al-Khadir and Elijah, Shahr. 131, IKhald. I, 358.

— L. 10. Elijah is usually associated with deserts and ruins, see, e. g., Pirke Aboth, ch. 6, Berakhoth 3<sup>a</sup>, Sanhedrin 98<sup>a</sup>.— al-Khadir (“the green Prophet”) is, on account of his name, brought in connection with water and vegetation.

— L. 13. The same objection is found in connection with Elijah, who in the belief of the people is present at every circumcision. “How can it be imagined that Elijah should be present at every circumcision that takes place in Israel? How can he accomplish it, since, Israel being a nation scattered and divided, many circumcisions take place simultaneously in the East of the World and the West thereof?” Glasberg, *Zichron Brith la-Rishonim* (Berlin 1892) p. 233.

<sup>15</sup> 47, l. 3. “‘Abdallah b. Salām” is a lapsus calami for “‘Abd [47] as-Salām.”—Muhammed b. ‘Abd as-Salām is identical with Ibn ‘Abd as-Salām, who defends the belief in al-Khadir, *Tāj al-‘Arūs* III, 187. He is mentioned by Ibn al-Abbār, *Complementum libri as-Silah*, ed. Codera, Madrid 1887, p. 136, No. 483:

ابن عبد السلام الحافظ المعروف بابن شق (sic) الليل.<sup>1</sup>—  
Talabīra is situated on the Tajo, in the district of Toledo, Yakut III, 542.

— L. 6. I have not been able to identify this Kātib with the not unusual name. He is mentioned by I. H., Ed. I, 111: 25 He takes I. H. to a friend of his to show him the miracles he is working. But I. H. succeeds in unmasking him as a juggler.

— L. 11. This ḥadīth, which is recorded both by Muslim and Bukhārī and is in consequence canonical, reads fully as follows:

أَمَّا ثَرَضَى إِنْ تَكُونُ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ  
The Prophet says to Ali

<sup>30</sup> من موسى غير آنَه لا نَبِي بَعْدِي. Nawawī, *Tahdīb* 438, Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ğāba* IV, 26<sup>3</sup> (with the variant **نَبِيَّةَ بَعْدِي**) comp. ZDMG. 50, 119. The tendency of the hadīth is transparent. It is directed against the extravagant worship of Ali (and the Imams) by the Ğāliya. On the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> Whether **محمد بن عبد السلام الحشني** repeatedly quoted by I. H. in Isnāds (e. g., Ed. I, 109 ult, V, 5<sup>20</sup>) is identical with our Muhammed I am not in a position to determine.

hadith see p. 135<sup>30</sup>.—A similar tradition with the same tendency is quoted by Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 105.

— Note 8. Cod. L. contains the following marginal note (in extremely illegible and unpointed characters) **الظاهر من**

معناه انه لا يحدث بعده ذبي وان شريعته قاهرة على جميع الشرائع لا يجوز لأحد يوجد بعده ان يخالفه في شريعته ولذلك قال صلى الله عليه وسلم لو كان موسى حيا لما تبعه الا اذباعي ولذلك كان الخضر عليه السلام فيما يقبل عنه انه يعبد الله تعالى على شريعة نبيانا عليه السلام.

The gloss is apparently that of a reader. It is missing in Br. which is otherwise identical with L.

— L. 15. I. H. expresses himself similarly Ed. I, 77<sup>o</sup>: “It is well-established that the Prophet said that there would be no prophet after him, with the exception of what the reliable traditions contain regarding the advent of Jesus, who was sent<sup>15</sup> to the Jews and whom the Jews pretend to have killed and crucified. It is necessary firmly to believe in all this and it is well-established that the existence of prophecy after the Prophet is absurd.”

— L. 17. The Berber tribe Baraqwāṭa in the extreme North-<sup>20</sup> west of Africa formed an independent commonwealth under Tarif, who claimed descent from the tribe Simeon. His son Sāliḥ pretended to be a prophet and composed a new Koran of eighty Suras in the Berberic language, Ibn Adharī, ed. Dozy I, 44. For their doctrine, see *ibidem* 234 ff. During the reign<sup>25</sup> of their seventh king they still expected the “return” of Sāliḥ; Dozy, *Isl.* 348 ff., Kremer, *Ideen* 200, 372.

— Note 12. The Baraqwāṭa Commonwealth was destroyed by the Almoravides in 1030, Dozy, *ib.*, Kremer, *ib.*

— L. 19. The name of this sect alternates between Kat'iyya<sup>30</sup> (قطّعية) and Kitṭi'iyya (قطّعية). The former is found, e. g., Masudi VIII, 40; Shahr. 17, 127, 128, 147; Makr. 351<sup>24</sup>. The latter form is consistently used by I. H., Bagd. and Isfr., also Masudi V, 443, 475. The form Kitṭi'iyya as the more unusual one seems to be original.

35

[47] The nature of the Kittî‘iyya can best be understood when contrasted with its antithesis, the Wâkifiyya or Wâkifa, p. 40. The point of controversy is the reality of the Imam's death (see p. 30) and the question, dependent on it, of the election of a

successor. **توقف في موته** or **وقف في موته**—**وقف** means “to be uncertain, to be in doubt,” as regards the Imam's death,” i. e., refuse to believe that the Imam is dead and, still recognizing him as Imam, refrain from electing a successor. The exact reverse of it is “**قطع بموته**” definitely to assert his death,”<sup>2</sup> to believe that the death of the Imam was real and, in consequence, transfer (ساق) the Imamate from the dead Imam to his successor. This state of the case is still perfectly clear in Shahr., as the following examples will show: 173 . . .  
**الذين قطعوا بموته** 128, **ومن قطع بموته** وساق الامامة الى ابنه  
 15 **ساقوا الامامة بعده** موسى . . . (in opposition to the Wâkifiyya, p. 40). Then **توقف** and **وقف** were interpreted in their literal meaning “to stand still” and the construction **(توقف) عليه** came in use in the sense: “to stand still at him (at the Imâm),” i. e., to uphold his Imamate without electing a successor because 20 of the unreal character of his death. Substantially then this expression is identical with the phrase **وقف (توقف) في موته**, and both are opposed to **قطع بموته** “to believe in the Imam's death and elect a new Imam.” Thus Shahr. 127 **ومنهم من قطع** بموته (يعني بموت موسى بن جعفر) **ويقال لهم القطعية** **ومنهم** **منْ توقف عليه** **وقال انه لم يمت** **وسيخرج بعد الغيبة** **ويقال** 25 **ثم منهم منْ وقف وقال بالرجعة** **ومنهم** **لهم الواقعية** or p. 16: **لهم الواقعية**

<sup>1</sup> See, e. g., Shahr. 131 “Then we are in doubt concerning this.”

<sup>2</sup> See on this meaning of **قطع** my *Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides*, I, (Frankfort on M., 1902) sub voce.

مَنْ وَقَفَ عَلَيْهِ وَقَالَ بَرْجَعْتَهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ سَاقْ [47]  
الإِمَامَةَ فِي أَوْلَادِهِ.<sup>1</sup>

Both the beliefs of the Kit̄t̄iyya and Wâkifiyya are in themselves merely relative conceptions and express but a certain attitude of mind. They become real only when applied to certain definite individuals. In consequence of this their relative character, their contents are somewhat elastic and change in accordance with the person to whom they are applied. As a rule, the contrast between the two sects hinges on the person of Mûsa b. Ja‘far (p. 39<sup>15</sup>), the succession down to Ja‘far, his father, being a matter of common agreement among the Shiites (p. 104<sup>28</sup>). Those that refuse to admit his death and await his “return” are called Wâkifiyya (also Mûsawiyya and, with their nickname, Mamtûra, p. 40<sup>12</sup>). Those, on the other hand, who admit his death and in consequence transfer the Imamate to his descendants are called the Kit̄t̄iyya. Comp. the passages quoted above from Shahr. See Masudi V, 443: Hishâm b. al-Hakam (p. 65<sup>11</sup>) was an intimate friend of Mûsa b. Ja‘far. Yet he was a Kit̄t̄iyy, i. e., he believed that Mûsa was dead. Bagd. 19<sup>a</sup>: يُونسُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ الْقُمِّيُّ كَانَ مِنَ الْقَطْيِعِيَّةِ وَنَاظَرَ بَعْضَ<sup>20</sup>  
الْمُوسَوِّيَّةِ. Kashi in a special article on the Wâkifiyya, p. 284–288, understands and applies this term in the same manner.

The name, however, occurs also in connection with other individuals of the Alidic family.

Thus Wâkifiyya is found as another designation for Ismâ-<sup>25</sup> ‘iliyya, those who believe in the “return” of Musa’s brother Ismâ‘il, Shahr. 127.

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<sup>1</sup> I have dwelt at some length on this point, as Haarbrücker in his Shahr. translation utterly misunderstood the whole matter. He takes قطع in its ordinary meaning “to cut off” (abschneiden) and interprets it in the sense “to cut off the series of Imams” and allow no further Imam. In consequence, the contradic̄io in adiecto that those who cut off (i. e., close) the series of Imams transfer the Imamate to their descendants, is repeatedly to be met with in his translation. E. g., I, 25: “Andere machen mit seinem Tode einen Abschnitt und führen das Imamat auf seinen Sohn über,” or, still more nonsensically, 192: “Andere schnitten mit seinem Tode (die Reihe der Imame) ab” and so forth. The same, Wolff, *Drusen*, p. 82 ff.—It is difficult to see how these authors could make any sense out of this translation.

[47] The name *Kittî'iyya* is found in connection with Ali, the son of Mûsa, Makr. 351<sup>26</sup>. Zeid. 104<sup>a</sup> applies this term to the "followers of Ali b. Muhammed," apparently referring to Ali an-Nakî (died 254), the grandfather of the Shiitic Mahdî, <sup>5</sup> "the man of the cellar."

Gradually, however, the two terms were used pre-eminently in connection with the Mahdî, the Imam of the "Twelvers." Those who did not admit the death of his father, al-Hasan al-Askarî, and consequently rejected his own claims to the Imamate <sup>10</sup> are called the *Wâkifiyya*, IBab., *Ithbat* 39 (p. 36, however, this term is used as a synonym for the *Mâsawiyya*). Those again who believed in al-Hasan's death and transferred the Imamate to the Mahdi, were called the *Kittî'iyya*. With the spread of the "Twelvers" and the extinction of the other Shiitic factions, <sup>15</sup> the term *Kittî'iyya* became the exclusive possession of this sect and was generally used as a synonym for *Ithnâ'ashariyya*, which is probably of later origin (I. H. does not use it in his *Milal*), comp. I. H. in our passage; *Shahr.* 17, 127, 147; *Masudi* V, 475; *Bagd.* 19<sup>b</sup> expressly *وَيَقَالُ لَهُمُ الْإِثْنَا عَشَرَيْهِ* and in the same <sup>20</sup> way *Isfr.* 13<sup>b</sup> *وَهَا وَلَا يُدْعُونَ إِلَّا إِثْنَا عَشَرَيْهِ*.

The old Marracci recognized the identity of the *Kittî'iyya* with the *Ithnâ'ashariyya*. The rebuke preferred against him by de Sacy (II, 590 n. 1=Wolff, *Drusen*, p. 83, n. 1) is without justification.

<sup>26</sup> 48, l. 3 ff. See I. H.'s remarks on the same subject, Text [48] p. 76<sup>f</sup> ff. I. H.'s account on the Mahdi is extremely interesting and in many a detail quite novel.<sup>1</sup>

— L. 5. The year of al-Hasan's death is unanimously given as 260. All other dates and facts of the Mahdi's life were <sup>30</sup> early entangled in myth and legend.

This shows itself at once in the question as to the date of his birth, which is extremely problematic. Conspicuous in its tendency is the notion that he was born on the day on which his father died, Blochet 21. It betrays itself through the explanatory remark that the Mahdi has, just like Jesus, been Imam since his infancy. According to another supposition (comp.

<sup>1</sup> Sibt, *Imams*, remarkably enough says nothing about the twelfth Imam.

Text here, l. 7) he was born eight months after his father's [48] death, Shahr. 130<sup>o</sup>. Repeatedly to be found as the year of his birth is 258, i. e., two years before his father's death, IBab.

*Ithbat* 44 l. 2 (read ٨٣٦ مولى instead of ٨٣٦ مولى); Ibn Zülâk (died 387<sup>h</sup>) in IKhall. No. 573; Diyarbekrî, II, 288. Very frequently <sup>5</sup> the year 255 is given, Abu'l-Maali 164; Anon. Sufi 170<sup>a</sup>; Abulfeda II, 222; IKhall. ib.<sup>1</sup> See the various suppositions Shahr. 129-130.

The insinuation that the Mahdi was not born at all I have not met with outside of I. H. He repeats the same charge Ed. IV, <sup>10</sup> 96<sup>b</sup>: "If so, what need is there for them (the Imams), especially so for the last 180 years? (see Introduction, p. 19). For they pretend to have a lost Imaín who (however) was never created, just like the fabulous griffin." Gen. Leyd. omits the Mahdi altogether, as it only records the Alides who had off-<sup>15</sup> spring. Al-Hasan, however, is designated as *Abû Muhammed*.

The identity of the Mahdi's name with that of the Prophet which is demanded by the Mahdi traditions is regarded by the Shiites as proof of the legitimacy of the twelfth Imam.<sup>2</sup> To the same end the Prophet's kunya *Abû'l-Kâsim* was conferred <sup>20</sup> on him.<sup>3</sup> The generally accepted Mahdi tradition demands, besides, identity in the father's name. But there are variations of this tradition which are so trimmed as to meet the special circumstances of the twelfth Mahdi, comp. IKhald. II, 144 ff.; Diyarbekrî, II, 288. <sup>25</sup>

— L. 11 f. A more elaborate form of this anecdote see Blochet 22 (who writes *Hakimeh*). The motive of the anecdote is the Shiitic tendency to pattern the image of the Mahdi after that of Jesus, whose advent at the end of time is expected by all Muhammedans. The miracle of "talking in the cradle" is <sup>30</sup> ascribed to Jesus, Koran 3, 41; 5, 109; 19, 30 ff.; comp. Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran*

<sup>1</sup> The latter gives besides 256, which he considers correct. Anon. Sufi ib. quotes Yâfi'i's *Ta'rîkh* to the effect that al-Hasan died when the Mahdi was six or five years old, which would imply 254 and 255 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Already as-Sayyid al-Himyarî refers to such a tradition, Agh. VII, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Zeid. Mutaz. 11<sup>1</sup> quotes a tradition according to which Muhammed ordered Ali to give his son his (the prophet's) name and kunya. He was referring to Muhammed b. al-Hanafîyya.

[48] (1839), p. 47. The Sunnitic protest against the transferring of this miracle to the Mahdi found expression in an interpretation forcibly put upon the well-known *hadith*—in itself an anti-

Shiitic protest—**لَا مَهْدَىٰ إِلَّا عَيْسَىٰ بْنُ مَرْيَمٍ** “there is no Mahdi

<sup>5</sup> أَيْ لَا يَنْتَكِلُ فِي الْمَهْدِيِّ (الْمَهْدُ) إِلَّا عَيْسَىٰ: (read **الْمَهْدُ**) <sup>1</sup>: “that is, none except Jesus talks in the cradle (al-mahd).” See IKhald. II, 163 and 169.

— Lines 13, 15, 16. On the name or names of the Mahdi’s mother see Diyarbekrī, II, 288, IKhall. No. 573, who also adds <sup>10</sup> “Khamt”<sup>2</sup> (a sort of fragrant milk). Narjis is given by the authorities quoted by Blochet, p. 21. See also Anon. Sufi fol.

**أَمْهَأْ أُمْ وَلَدٍ يُقَالُ لَهَا نَرْجِسٌ**: 170<sup>a</sup>: On the custom of giving the slaves pet names of this description **نَرْجِسٌ** “narcissus,” **سُوْسَنٌ** “lily,” **صَقِيلٌ** “the polished one (?)”), <sup>15</sup> see the remark Müller, *Islam* I, 570 footnote.

[49] 49, l. 4. The *Dictionary of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger), p. 1308, gives the following definition of “Inspiration” (*الْإِلْهَامُ*):

**الْإِلْهَامُ مَعْنَىٰ فِي الْقَلْبِ بِطَرِيقِ الْفَيْضِ أَيْ بِلَا اِكْتِسَابٍ**: <sup>20</sup> **وَفِكْرٌ وَلَا اِسْتِفَاضَة** (استفادة (read **بِلْ هُوَ وَارِدٌ غَيْبِيٌّ**) **وَإِيْشَانٌ مَوْافِقٌ اِنْدَ بِقَرَامِطَه** **وَدَهْرِيَّهٌ كَهْ اِزْ خَوَانِدِنِ وَأَمْوَخْتَنِ قَرَانِ وَاعْلَامِ دِينِ إِعْرَاضِ كَنْدِ**.

This claim of Inspiration is the reason why the Shiites object to religious discussions, p. 16<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> In the same way as here and Text p. 35<sup>16</sup> ff., I. H. expresses himself Ed. IV, 104<sup>a</sup>: “Some of them (the Imâmiyya) when asked (to prove) the truth of their claim regarding the Imams (i. e., that the Imams are the only source of religious knowledge) take recourse to the claim of Inspiration in this matter.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Der Mahdi*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. de Slane, p. 632, has **خَمْطٌ**; ed. Wüstenfeld has incorrectly **خَمْسَطٌ**.

But if they arrive at this sophism,<sup>1</sup> then the latter is not beyond [49] reach of any one man, and their opponents are very well able to pretend that they have been informed by way of inspiration of the absurdity of their claim."

A Shiitic writer of the eleventh century (Hijra) uses the following characteristic argument to prove the superiority of the Imams and scholars of the Shi'a, Goldziher, *Shi'a*, p. 509: "because their words are not a matter of opinion or effort, but of true knowledge. Their source is either a tradition which every one of them has received from his father, the latter from his own father and so on up to the Prophet, or Revelation and Inspiration, so that both small and big are equal in this respect among them. For this reason it has never been recorded of any of them that he has ever gone to a teacher, or studied under a master, or asked any question."<sup>15</sup>

— Note 5. The reading of Ed. and Codd. presupposes طريف and the same word is found in Ed. Text 57<sup>13</sup>, 64<sup>8</sup> (see also Ed. IV, 97<sup>10</sup>). It is possible to get along with the ordinary meaning of طريف "clever, ingenious."

— L. 9 (note 10). I took this as an example of some monstrous (of course, imaginary) charge for which Inspiration might be invoked. See a similar charge note 9. Prof. Nöldeke (in a private communication) objects to this interpretation. He prefers to retain من جنون in the text and to translate "or that all of them have a piece (lit. a branch) of madness in their heads."

— L. 13 ff. (and previously). The tone in which I. H. speaks of this charge of illegitimate birth shows that he takes it quite seriously. I have not found any reference to it elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The concluding words of this paragraph are characteristic of I. H.'s biting sarcasm: It is possible that you all may still be saved by becoming orthodox Muslims. But then you

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<sup>1</sup> الشَّغْبُ, see p. 6 f. But perhaps "الشَّغْبُ" "narrow path" ought to be read, comp. Text p. 78-79 (repeatedly).

<sup>2</sup> One is vividly reminded of the frequently quoted sentence מרדחץך כולי הא שמע מניה ממזור הוּא as he is so impudent, it is clear that he is a bastard." Comp. S. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu* (Berlin 1902), pp. 188, 278.

[49] will have proved, according to your own contention, that you are all bastards.

[50] 50, l. 9 ff. Comp. I. H.'s notice (Ed. IV, 195<sup>1</sup>): ابو عثمان : عمر بن (جَحْمٌ + الجاحظ القرصي (البصرى (Cod. L. + الكنانى صليبيه (صلبيّة (read) وقيل بل مولى<sup>1</sup> وهو تلميذ النّظام واحد شيخ المعتزلة.

Jâhîz died in Başra in 255/869, over ninety years old, IKhall. No. 479, 58<sup>2</sup>; Brockelmann I, 152.<sup>3</sup> He was a pupil of an-Nazzâm (p. 58<sup>4</sup>), whom he quotes in this passage. He himself figures as the founder of a sect bearing his name, de Boer, 53.

I. H.'s remark bearing on Jâhîz is reflected in the attitude towards him of the Arabic literary critics, which is on the whole more hostile than favorable. "The style of his genius is mediocre" is the verdict of de Boer (p. 54). The Muhammadan writers, however, are ready to appreciate his literary talent and particularly his eloquence, e. g., Masudi VIII, 34; Shahr. 52; Iji 341. But his orthodoxy is held in great suspicion, Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 100. IKhall. (No. 186, p. 125), after stating that Jâhîz declared Ibn Mokaffa' to be an infidel, sarcastically adds: "But, as someone remarked, how could Jâhîz have forgotten himself?" Still less favorably than his orthodoxy is judged his moral character. Masudi VIII, 34 says of him briefly but poignantly انصاراً مشهور. He sells his literary talent to the highest bidder and writes successively in favor of the 'Abbasides, the 'Othmanides and Merwanides, ib. p. 56.<sup>5</sup> For an instance of his unprincipled attitude see later (p. 104<sup>6</sup> ff.).

Extremely interesting is the crushing criticism of Jâhîz as man and writer, by Bagd. and Isfr. I give the essential parts of Bağdâdi's remarks (fol. 69<sup>a</sup>)<sup>7</sup> as they are apt to illustrate

ذِكْرِ الْجَاحِظِيَّةِ مِنْهُمْ (يعنى من: I. H.'s utterance in our passage)

الْمُعْتَزِلَةِ) هَوْلَاءُ أَتَبَاعُ عَمَرَ بْنَ يَحْيَى (sic) الْجَاحِظُ وَهُمُ الَّذِينَ

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Kashi 38.

<sup>2</sup> Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 126, note 17 gives the erroneous date 235/849-850.

<sup>3</sup> See Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 120.

<sup>4</sup> Isfr. 37<sup>a</sup> gives substantially the same. But the wording is quite different.

[50] اغتروا بحسن بذلة الجاحظ في كتبه التي بها ترجمة ترقو بلا معنى باسم يهول بلا جسم ولو عرفوا جهالاته في ضلالاته لاستغفروا الله تعالى من تسميتهم إياه انساناً فضلاً عن أن ينسبوا إليه إحساناً . . . . [70<sup>a</sup>] وقد افتخرا الكعب<sup>1</sup> بالجاحظ وزعموا أن شيوخ المعتزلة وافتخرا بتصانيفه الكثيرة وزعموا أنه كاناني من بنى كنانة بن حزيمة بن مدركة بن الياس بن مضر<sup>2</sup> فيقال له إن كان كنانياً كما زعمت فلم صنفت (صنف read) كتاب مفاسخ القحطانية على الكنانية وسائر العدنانية وإن كان عربياً فلم صنف كتاب فضل الموالى على العرب . . . . واما 10 كتبه المزخرفة فأصناف منها كتابه في حيل اللصوص وقد علم بها الفسقة وجوة السرقة ومنها كتابه في عشر الصناعات وقد افسد بها على التجار سلعيهم ومنها كتابه في النواميس وهو ذريعة للحتالين يجتذبون بها ودائماً الناس وأموالهم ومنهم كتابه في الفتيا وهو مشحون بطعن أستاذة النظام على أعلام العحابة ومنها كتبه في القحاب والكلاب واللاظة وفي حيل المكدين<sup>3</sup> ومعانى هذه الكتب لائقة به وبصنته وأسرته ومنها كتاب طبائع الحيوان<sup>4</sup> وقد سلح فيه معانى كتاب الحيوان لارسطوطاليس وضمن إليه ما ذكره المدائني من حكم العرب وأشعارها في منافع الحيوانات ثم إنـه <sup>أعلى</sup> <sup>ذاته</sup> <sup>كتاب</sup> بمناظرة بين

<sup>1</sup> See Makr. 348<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Is this identical with his Kitâb al-Bukhalâ?

<sup>3</sup> Isfr. declares it to be his most important (أعلى) work.

الكلب والديك<sup>1</sup> والاشتغال بمثل هذه المناظرة تصبيع للوقت [50] [70<sup>b</sup>] بالمقت ومَنْ افترى بالجاحظ سَلْمناه اليه وقول اهل السُّنة في الجاحظ كقول الشاعر فيه [الكامل]  
 لَوْ يُمْسِحَ آلَ حِنْزِيرٍ مَسْحًا ثَانِيَا \* مَا كَانَ إِلَّا دُونَ قُبْحِ آلَجَاحِظٍ  
 رَجُلٌ يَنْوُبُ عَنْ آلَجَيْمِ بَنَفْسِهِ \* وَهُوَ آلَفَدَى فِي كُلِّ طَرْفٍ لَاحِظٍ<sup>5</sup>

— L. 14. Abū Ishāk Ibrahim b. Sayyār an-Nazzām, a pupil of Abū'l-Hudeil<sup>3</sup> (p. 66<sup>31</sup>) and teacher of al-Jāhīz, was one of the most respected leaders of the Mu'tazila, "noteworthy as a man and a thinker," de Boer 51. He flourished about 221<sup>b</sup>, Kremer, 10 *Ideen* 31; Shahr. 18, 37, 39 ff.; Iji 337 ff.; Makr. 346<sup>12</sup>. He leaned towards Shiism ("Rafq"), Shahr. 39; Iji 338. Bagd. 49<sup>a</sup> protests against the interpretation of his name as نَظَامٌ and explains that he was called لِلْكَلَامِ الْمُنْتَهَى وَالشِّعْرِ الْمَوْزَعُونَ so because كان ينظم الحِرَزَ فِي سُوقِ الْبَصْرَةِ.

15 — Ibidem. A man by the name of Bishr b. Khālid is otherwise unknown. But the context and the additional remark of Codd. L. Br. (note 8) strongly suggest that he is identical with the highly respected Mu'tazila-Sheikh Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir, the founder of the Bishriyya sect. He is mentioned together with 20 an-Nazzām, Shahr. 18; Zeid. Mutaz. 30; comp. Shahr. 44; Iji 338 and others. I. H., too, frequently refers to him in his *Milal*. Ed. III, 126<sup>16</sup>, I. H. mentions an-Nazzām, Abū'l-Hudeil, Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir and al-Jubbā'ī as remarkable for their speculative and argumentative powers.

25 I. H.'s (or the copyist's) mistake in our passage may perhaps be explained by assuming that Bishr's kunya was Abū Khālid. For a similar mistake see p. 59<sup>7</sup>.

According to Zeid. Mutaz., Bishr was imprisoned by Rashīd on the charge of being a Shiite (Rāfidī). But he denied it in 30 one of his poems.

<sup>1</sup> See van Vloten, *Worgers* 59, n. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Jāhīz was frightfully ugly, Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, popular edition, Leipzig 1901, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Zeid. Mutaz. p. 25 ult., 27.

— L. 15. I. H. consistently designates this Muhammed as [50] the son of Ja‘far. All other sources call him “b. an-Nu‘mân,” *Fîhr.* 176; *Bagd.* and *Isfr.* frequently; *Tusy* No. 698; *Shahr.* 142; *Iji* 347; *Makr.* 348<sup>24</sup>, 353<sup>25</sup>; *IKhall.* No. 166; *Kâmûs* s.v.

الطاق، *Lubb al-Lubâb* s. v. الشيطاني.—*Agh.* VII 9<sup>7</sup> and 5 Kashi 122, 123 call him Muh. b. *Ali* b. an-Nu‘mân. His kunya was Abû Ja‘far (*Fîhr.* 176; *Shahr.* 142; Kashi ib., *Goldziher, Shi‘a* 509<sup>18</sup>), hence probably the mistake. See p. 58<sup>26</sup>.

His nickname was Sheitân at-Tâk (see the sources quoted above), which, according to *Kâmûs*, signifies “the devil of at-Tâk, a citadel in Tabaristân.”<sup>27</sup> The Shiites, however, call him Mu‘min at-Tâk, *Tusy* ib.; Kashi 123. The sect founded by him is generally called Sheitâniyya. *Shahr.* calls it Nu‘mâniyya, (comp. *Goldziher* in *ZDMG.* 61, 75, n. 2). He was an adherent of Ja‘far as-Sâdîk (died 146), who valued him highly, Kashi 122. He had a dispute with as-Sayyid al-Himyârî about the Imamate and came out victorious, *Agh.* ib.

His ready wit is attested in several instances quoted by *Tusy* and Kashi.

His book on the Imamate referred to on l. 17 is duly recorded 20 by *Fîhr.* and *Tusy*.

— L. 18. This verse plays a prominent part in the polemics between Shiites and Sunnites. Abû Ja‘far at-Tûsî, the author of the List of Shy‘ah books, wrote a كتاب النّقْض على ابن شاذان في مسْتَلَةِ الغَار (p. 355, No. 771. *Hishâm* b. al-Hakam<sup>25</sup> (p. 65<sup>28</sup>) is the author of a كتاب الرّد على اصحاب اثنين<sup>29</sup> by which most probably our verse is meant. The Caliph al-Mâ’mûn anxiously endeavors to refute the consequences to be drawn from this verse in a discussion with a Sunnite, *Ikhd* II.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kashi explains the name in a very artificial manner. He was once shown a Dirhem and he said: سُتُوقْ “it is forged” **فَقَالُوا مَا هُوَ إِلَّا** شيطان الطاق.—Comp. Barbier de Meynard in *Journal Asiatique* 1874, p. 245 note: “Quant au surnom Satan du portique, je n’en ai trouvé l’explication nulle part.” Correct ibidem *Hishâm* b. al-Hakam for *Hicham* b. Malek.

<sup>2</sup> I have unfortunately lost the reference to the page.

[50] I. H., too, lays great stress on this verse as proving the legitimacy of Abū Bekr's Imamate, Ed. IV, 144<sup>21</sup> ff.

[51] 51, l. 1. The objection appears ridiculous in his eyes because in his belief the verse is an interpolation of the *Ashâb*, see 5 p. 61 f.

— L. 3. His full name is Ali b. Ismâ‘il b. Mîtham<sup>1</sup> at-Tammâr (see the references later), but he is frequently called Ali b. Mîtham, so here and Text p. 75<sup>24</sup>, Bagd. 21<sup>b</sup>.<sup>2</sup> The variant ميثن (instead of ميثم) occurs frequently, see Text p. 75, note 10 12; Masudi VI, 369; Tab. (in the variants to the passages quoted below n. 1); Makr. 351<sup>22</sup> (de Sacy II, 589 has, however, Maïtham). The reading and pronunciation Mîtham is confirmed by Bagd. See also *Fîhr.* 174 note 4. Instead of at-Tammâr, *Fîhrîst* gives at-Tayyâr.<sup>3</sup> The by-name *as-Şâbûnî* (the soap boiler) is not 15 found elsewhere.

His grandfather Mîtham at-Tammâr was an esteemed follower of Ali, *Fîhr.* ib.; *Tusy* p. 212, No. 458; *Kashi* (in a separate article) 53–58. Makr. 351<sup>24</sup> (=de Sacy II, 589) erroneously refers this adherence to Ali b. Ismâ‘il himself.—Ali was by 20 origin from Kufa and was a client of the *Banû Asad*, but he lived in Basra. He participated in conjunction with those named Text p. 75<sup>22</sup> in a discussion in the *Majlis* of the *Barmekide* vizier Yahya, Masudi VI, 369. He had a dispute with Abû'l-Hudeil and an-Nazzâm, *Tusy* ib.

25 He is regarded as the originator of the Imamite doctrine, Masudi, *Fîhr.*, *Tusy*, *Makr.* (=de Sacy). Bagd 21<sup>b</sup>: من شيخ الرافضة. In spite of it, he is reported to have been moderate in the denunciation of Ali's opponents, see Text p. 79<sup>21</sup>; comp. Wolff, *Drusen*, p. 80, 82.

30 He is in all probability identical with Ali b. Ismâ‘il, who gave the *Mûsawiyya* the nickname *Mamtûra*, p. 40<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Tab. III, 249<sup>13</sup>, 254<sup>17</sup>, 288<sup>1</sup> inserts between Ismâ‘il and Mîtham the name *Şâlih*. See, however, ib. 288 note *a*.

على بن اسماعيل، ابن ميثم <sup>2</sup> Kashi 170 calls him repeatedly also *الهبيشي* (cf. ib. n. 5). *الميثمى*. Goldziher, *Shi'a* 510<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> There is one mentioned Kashi 176<sup>8</sup> among the intimates of Ja‘far as-Şâdik who may be identical with him. Ja‘far alludes to the meaning of the name (179<sup>8</sup>), so that a mere copyist's error is out of the question.

— L. 11. Perhaps the reason for it is that the Rawâfid have [51] no hesitation to change their minds, as they attribute the same (see on the Badâ doctrine, p. 72<sup>a</sup>) to God.

— L. 14. The belief in “tabdîl” is, properly considered, the basis of Shiitic doctrine. It accounts for the lack of the <sup>5</sup> Prophet’s written announcement regarding the succession of Ali and justifies the distrust toward the bearers of the Sunna, which again is the starting point for a complete remodelling of Islam. Isfr. 14<sup>b</sup> ably summarizes the far-reaching consequences

of this belief: **وَأَعْلَمُ أَنْ جَمِيعَ مَنْ ذَكَرْنَا هُمْ مِنْ فِرَقِ الْإِمَامَيْةِ** <sup>10</sup>

مُتَّقِفُونَ عَلَى تَكْفِيرِ الْحَكَمَةِ وَيَدْعُونَ أَنَّ الْقُرْآنَ قَدْ غَيَّرَ عَمَّا  
كَانَ وَوَقَعَتْ فِيهِ الرِّبَاوَةُ وَالنَّقْصَانُ مِنْ قَبْلِ الْحَكَمَةِ وَيَزْعُمُونَ  
أَنَّهُ قَدْ كَانَ فِيهِ النَّصُّ عَلَى اِمَامَةِ عَلَى فَأَسْقَطْتَهُ الْحَكَمَةُ عَنْهُ

<sup>15<sup>a</sup></sup> [15<sup>a</sup>] وَيَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّهُ لَا اِعْتِمَادَ عَلَى الْقُرْآنِ الْآَنَّ وَلَا عَلَى شَيْءٍ مِّنَ  
الْأَخْبَارِ الْمَرْوِيَّةِ عَنِ الْمُصْطَفَى صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَيَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّهُ لَا  
اعْتِمَادَ عَلَى الشَّرِيعَةِ التِّي فِي أَيْدِيِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَيَنْتَظِرُونَ اِمَامًا  
يُسَمُّونَهُ الْمَهْدِيَّ يَخْرُجُ وَيَعْلَمُهُمُ الشَّرِيعَةَ وَلَيَسُوا فِي الْحَالِ عَلَى  
شَيْءٍ مِّنَ الدِّينِ وَلَيَسُوا مَقْصُودُهُمْ مِنْ هَذَا الْكَلَامِ تَحْقِيقُ الْكَلَامِ  
فِي الِامَامَةِ وَلَكِنَّ مَقْصُودَهُمْ إِسْقَاطُ كَلْفَةِ تَكْلِيفِ الشَّرِيعَةِ عَنِ  
أَنفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى يَتَوَسَّعُوا فِي اسْتِحْلَالِ الْحَرَمَاتِ الشَّرْعِيَّةِ وَيَعْتَذِرُوا  
عَنِ الدِّينِ بِمَا يَدْعُونَهُ مِنْ تَحْرِيفِ الشَّرِيعَةِ وَتَغْيِيرِ الْقُرْآنِ مِنْ  
عَنِ الْحَكَمَةِ وَلَا مَرِيدَ عَلَى هَذَا النَّوْعِ مِنَ الْكُفَّرِ إِذْ لَا بَقَاءَ فِيهِ  
عَلَى شَيْءٍ مِّنَ الدِّينِ.

More comprehensively, and, as is to be expected, from a higher point of view does I. H. deal with this problem. Hav-<sup>25</sup> ing proved that the Gospels had been interpolated, I. H. (Ed. II, 76<sup>4</sup> ff.) quotes two Christian counter-arguments which he tries elaborately to refute. The first is that the Caliph Othman removed numerous readings from the Koran, and the other

[51] "that the Rawâfid maintain that the Companions of your Prophet altered the Koran by way of omissions and additions." The first objection I. H. discards briefly, though somewhat superficially, by pointing out that in the time of Othman the <sup>5</sup> Koran text was already so wide-spread and so firmly established, that the Caliph *could* not, even if he would, change it.<sup>1</sup> "As for their argument regarding the Rawâfid and their contention that the Koran readings were interpolated, the Rawâfid do not belong to the Muslims. They consist of a number of sects, the <sup>10</sup> first of which arose twenty-five years after the Prophet's death.

It was originally the response of some people abandoned by Allah to the call of those who beguiled Islam,<sup>2</sup> a party which followed the course of the Jews and Christians as regards falsehood and heresy. They are divided into various sections. The most <sup>15</sup> extravagant of them assume the divinity of Ali b. Abî Tâlib and of a number of people besides him. The least extravagant of them believe that the sun was twice turned backwards for Ali.<sup>3</sup> How can one be indignant over lies coming from people whose lowest rank in lying is such (as described)?" He then <sup>20</sup> proceeds elaborately to refute this charge. He cleverly beats the Rawâfid with their own weapons by pointing (Ed. II, 80<sup>16</sup>) to the fact that Ali himself, "who according to most of them is a god, a creator, and, according to some of them, a prophet endowed with speech, while in the opinion of the rest he is an <sup>25</sup> infallible Imam, the obedience to whom is a religious command imposed by Law," did not object to the Koran in its present shape and, while Caliph, did not fight the interpolators, which would have been his sacred duty. "Thus the mendacity of the Rawâfid becomes evident, and praise be unto Allah, the Lord <sup>30</sup> of (all) Created Beings!"

A brief reference to the same subject is contained Ed. IV, 146<sup>17</sup>: "unless the Rawâfid fall back on ignoring the Koran and (assuming) omissions and additions in it. This is something whereby becomes evident their impudence, ignorance and <sup>35</sup> stupidity."

A thorough discussion of the whole question and a refutation of the charges raised as well by modern scholars can be found in Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 217 ff. See also Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 111 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. II, 78<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 16, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 68.

—L. 17. On Abū'l-Kāsim Ali Du'l-Majdein 'Ilm al-Hudā [51] al-Murtadā, the Nakib of the Shiites, 355/966-436/1044, see Tusy, No. 472, p. 218; IKhall., No. 454. His negative attitude towards the "tabdil" doctrine is perhaps implied in Tusy's **وله مسائل كثيرة في نصرة الرواية**. His genealogy appears <sup>5</sup> both in Ed. and Codd. in mutilated shape. I have restored it with the help of Gen. Leyd., Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* Y 32, and Tusy. IKhall. (and following him, Brockelmann I, 404) omits Mūsa between Muhammed and Ibrāhīm.

—Note 12. "Better to be translated: 'yet at the same time <sup>10</sup> he openly and publicly declared himself a Mu'tazilite.' (The same in Text l. 20.) Otherwise **مَنِين** or **عَنْهُمْ** could not be missing." (Nöldeke.)

—L. 21 f. I could find nothing bearing on Abū Ya'la. As a possibility I would suggest his identity with at-Tusī, the <sup>15</sup> author of the frequently quoted List of Shy'ah books. He calls himself a pupil of Ali al-Murtadā (List. p. 218, No. 472). He is counted Shahr. 145 among the writers of the Imāmiyya. A catalogue of his own writings, List, p. 285, No. 620.—**سبلان** seems <sup>20</sup> as a proper name occurs Fih. 180<sup>a</sup>. The variant **مِيلاد** seems much easier. But **مِيلاد** designates the *date*, not, as we expect here, the *place* of birth.

52, l. 1. I have not been able to identify this Abū'l-Kāsim. [52]

—L. 5 f. The belief in Transmigration is not characteristic of the Keisāniyya, but is rather, as I. H. himself points out <sup>25</sup> (Ed. IV, 198<sup>13</sup>), a logical consequence of the Mu'tazilite doctrine of Divine Justice which necessitates an exact retribution after death.<sup>1</sup> This belief, however, is attributed to several men known as Keisānites, so to as-Sayyid al-Himyari (in our passage),<sup>2</sup> Kuthayyir (p. 26<sup>27</sup>), 'Abdallah b. Mu'âwiya (p. 44<sup>11</sup>),<sup>30</sup> Abū Muslim, (p. 64<sup>10</sup>).—Makr. 354<sup>9</sup> mentions a special sect "Tanāsukhiyya."

On the relation between Tanāsukh and Raj'a, see p. 26 f.

See also next note.

<sup>1</sup> See Schreiner, *Der Kalâm in der jüdischen Litteratur*, p. 62 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Dāhabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, vol. VII (MS. Strassburg, not paginated) in the biography of as-Sayyid, quotes I. H. as authority for the assumption that as-Sayyid shared this belief.

[52] —L. 8 ff. The peculiar procedure described in this paragraph is the outcome of the belief in Transmigration. I. H.'s own expositions on the subject of Tanásukh (Ed. IV, 90<sup>14</sup> ff. in a special chapter) are apt to illustrate and explain our passage. 5 “Those<sup>1</sup> that believe in the Transmigration of Souls are divided into two sections: one section holds that the souls on leaving the bodies are transferred to other bodies which<sup>2</sup> are different from the kind of bodies they had left. This is the belief of Ahmad b. Hā'it<sup>3</sup> [V + the pupil of an-Nazzām]<sup>4</sup>, of Ahmad b. 10 Nānūs,<sup>5</sup> his pupil [V.: the pupil of Ibn Hā'it], of Abū Muslim of Khorāsān, of Muhammed b. Zakariyā ar-Rāzī, the physician,<sup>6</sup> who expressly advocates this (doctrine) in his book entitled “al-'Ilm al-Ilāhī.” This is also the belief of the Carmathians [V + the *Keisāniyya* and some of the *Rāfida*] . . . These people are of the opinion that the Transmigration of Souls takes place in the form of Punishment and Reward. They say: the soul of the sinner who has made himself guilty of bad actions is transferred to the bodies of repulsive animals<sup>7</sup> which wallow in all kinds of filth, which are forced to work, are inflicted with 15 pain, and are used for slaughtering.” See also Ed. IV, 198<sup>7</sup> ff.

— Note 5. The addition of L. Br. is not justified. The hatred of the Rawāfiḍ concentrates itself on Abū Bekr and 'Omar. See the interesting remark *Milal* V, 60<sup>7</sup>:  
 فَابْرُو بَكْرٌ  
 وَعُمَرٌ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا تُعَادِيهِمَا الرَّافِضَةُ . . . وَعُثْمَانُ وَعَلَى  
 تُعَادِيهِمَا الْخَوَارِجُ .

25

An instance of the intense hatred of the Shiites towards the “two Sheikhs” which is as curious as it is typical is quoted Mirza fol. 52<sup>b</sup>:  
 وَمِنْ هَفَوَاتِهِمُ الْحُكْمَةُ مَا رَوَهُ فِي مُعْتَبَرَاتٍ كُتُبٌ

<sup>1</sup> I add a few important variants from Cod. V (50<sup>a</sup>), L siding with Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. I 90<sup>16</sup> strike out *V.*: وَانَ الْجَسَادَ اخْرُ منْ غَيْرِ نَوْعٍ .

<sup>3</sup> Ed. حَابِطٌ, see p. 10<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 58<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> V. قَابُوسٌ, p. 10<sup>19</sup> 22.

<sup>6</sup> See de Boer, p. 77 ff.

<sup>7</sup> The following differently worded in *V.*

<sup>8</sup> =L. I, 42<sup>b</sup>. I cannot identify the passage in Ed.

أَحَادِيثُهُمْ عَنِ الصَّادِقِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَهُوَ أَحَدًا مِنْ تَبَعِ<sup>[52]</sup>  
 الْأَحْوَلِ<sup>٢</sup> قَالَ كُنْتُ يَوْمًا عِنْدَ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ جَعْفَرَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ فِي جَاءَ  
 وَاحِدًا (أَحَدًا) مِنَ الْخَيَاطِلِينَ [٥٣<sup>a</sup>] الَّذِينَ كَانُوا يَتَشَيَّعُونَهُ  
 وَبِيَدِهِ قَمِيصَانِ فَقَالَ يَا ابْنَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ خَطَّتْ وَاحِدًا (sic) مِنْهُمَا  
 وَبِكُلِّ خَيْطَةٍ وَحَدَّدَتْ رَبِّ الْأَرْبَابِ وَخَطَّتْ الْآخَرَ وَلَعْنَتْ بِكُلِّ مِنْهَا  
 عُمَرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّابِ ثُمَّ نَذَرَتْ لَكَ مَا أَحْبَبْتَ مِنْهُمَا فَمَا تُحِبُّهُ خُذْهُ  
 وَمَا لَا تُحِبُّهُ رُدِّهُ قَالَ فَقَالَ الصَّادِقُ أَحَبَّ مَا تَمَّ بَلَعْنَ عَمَرَ وَأَرَدَ  
 إِلَيْكَ الَّذِي خَيَطَ بِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ الْأَكْبَرِ.

The story is not impossible. At any rate: *se non e vero . . .*

— L. 17. On Hishām see also Text p. 74<sup>22</sup> ff., 75<sup>22</sup>.—Hishām<sup>10</sup> b. al-Hakam Abū Muhammed al-Āḥwāl ar-Rāfiḍī (al-Harrār, Masudi VII, 231) was born in Wāsit (Kashi 165), but lived in Kufa as a client of the Banū Asad (Text 52, note 10), or of the Banū Kinda (Kashi; Fihrl. 175; Tusy, p. 355, No. 771). He moved to Bagdad<sup>9</sup> in 199 and is said to have died in the same year.<sup>4</sup> <sup>15</sup> He belonged to the intimate circle of Mūsa b. Ja‘far (p. 39<sup>14</sup>), but he had also, when still a young man (Kashi 167), come in contact with Ja‘far (Fihrl., Tusy), who converted him from his heresies to the orthodox Imamitic belief (Kashi). In spite of the difference in opinion, he held intimate intercourse with<sup>20</sup> ‘Abdallah b. Yazīd, the founder of the Kharijite sect Ibādiyya, Masudi V, 343.

He was considered an authority on the Imamate question. When a Syrian once came to Ja‘far and insisted, among other things, on having an argument about the Imamate, he was<sup>25</sup> referred to Hishām (Kashi 179). The theory of the Imamate is the central point of his doctrine. He compared the Imamate

<sup>1</sup> Ja‘far as-Ṣādīk.

<sup>2</sup> This either refers to Sheiṭān at-Tâk (p. 59<sup>9</sup>) or to Hishām b. al-Hakam, this page, l. 11. They both bore the nickname al-Āḥwāl.

<sup>3</sup> Kashi quotes an exact topographical description of his Bagdad residence by an eye-witness.

<sup>4</sup> According to Kashi, he died in Kufa twenty years earlier, 179, during the reign of ar-Rashīd. But this can scarcely be correct, as he was a young man during Ja‘far’s (died 146) lifetime. See the following.

[52] with the heart in the human body, Masudi VII, 234, 236. See his pretty and elaborate comparison of the limbs with the Imamate, Kashi 176.<sup>1</sup> He belonged to the қیتیفیّیّہ, who admitted Mūsa b. Ja‘far’s death, p. 51<sup>17</sup>.

5 In the domain of Kalām, Hishām occupied a prominent position. He was the representative of a grossly anthropomorphic doctrine and, in conjunction with Hishām al-Juwālīkī (p. 132<sup>16</sup>), was considered the founder of the Hishāmiyya sect,<sup>2</sup> Bagd. 19<sup>b</sup>, 125<sup>a</sup>; Isfr. 14<sup>a</sup>, 15<sup>a</sup>, 54<sup>b</sup>; Shahr. 18, 60, 76, 141 ff.;  
<sup>10</sup> Iji 346.

— L. 18. See Text 75<sup>24</sup>. Abū Ali is called the pupil or adherent (sālib) of Hishām in the other sources as well. His by-name is uncertain; see the variants p. 52 note 12 and 75 note 13. Masudi VI, 369 has السکال شکال; Shahr. 145 the same  
<sup>15</sup> Fih. 176 (var. سکال). I have adopted the reading of L Text 75<sup>24</sup>: “ash-Shakkāk,” “the sceptic.” Masudi expressly designates him as Imamite. Shahr. counts him among the writers of the Imāmiyya. The title of his book recorded Fih.  
 ib. points to the same thing: كتاب على من أبي وجوب الامامة بالنهض.

20

— L. 19. Comp. the discussion of this question Ed. II, 128. An elaborate account of Hishām’s theory of Divine Knowledge is given Bagd. 20<sup>b</sup> and Shahr. 59 ff. It became popular not only with Shiites, e. g., the Sheitāniyya (p. 59<sup>18</sup>), Isfr. 54<sup>b</sup>; Shahr. 25 142; Iji 347; Makr. 353; or Zurāra b. A‘yun (Shahr., Makr.), but also with Mu‘tazilites, the famous al-Jubbā‘i approving of it (Shahr. 59).

[53] 53, l. 1. “Abū'l-Hudayl b. Makhūl al-‘Allāf,<sup>3</sup> a client of the ‘Abd al-Keis of Basra, one of the leaders and foremost men <sup>30</sup> of the Mu‘tazila” (Ed. IV, 192<sup>17</sup>), died about 235 (Shahr. 37; IKhall. No. 617<sup>4</sup>; Zeid. Mutaz. 28) ‘at an extremely old age

<sup>1</sup> Ja‘far is so delighted with his expositions that he exclaims هذَا مكتوب في حُكْمِ ابْرَاهِيم وَمُوسَى, ib. 177. [Cf. I Cor. 12, 12 ff.]

<sup>2</sup> Makr. 348<sup>a</sup> calls it also al-Hakamiyya, after the name of his father (comp. Goldzihier, ZDMG. 61, 75 n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Zeid. Mutaz. 25. كان يلقب بالعَلَاف لأن داره بالبصرة كانت في العَلَافِين.

<sup>4</sup> IKhall. gives besides 226 and 227. Iji 386 has erroneously 135.

(Zeid. Mutaz.).—He was an opponent of anthropomorphism. [53] On his doctrines see de Boer 49 ff.

On his disputes with Hishâm b. al-Hakam see the sources quoted p. 66, ll. 12–13, espec. Shahr. 18, 141. According to Zeid. Mutaz. 26 and somewhat in contradiction with 53 note 1 and 5 this page, l. 27, Abû'l-Hudeil, while on a pilgrimage to Mekka, paid a visit to *Kufa* and there met Hishâm and other opponents, with whom he victoriously argued about subtle Kalâm matters.

— L. 2. This utterance is attributed—erroneously as Makr. 348<sup>g</sup> points out—to Mukâtil b. Suleimân (p. 11<sup>30</sup>), see also 10 Shahr. 141.—The purport of this utterance is rather obscure, in spite of the following two notices which sound more intelligible. Bagd. 20<sup>a</sup>:

وَحَكَى بَعْضُهُمْ عَنْ هَشَامِ أَنَّهُ قَالَ فِي مَعْبُودَةٍ كَلَّ أَنْهُ سَبْعَةُ أَشْبَارٍ بِشِبْرٍ نَفْسَهُ كَأَنَّ قَاسِهَ عَلَى الْإِنْسَانِ لَأَنَّ كُلَّ إِنْسَانٍ فِي الْعَالَمِ مِنْ الْعَادَةِ سَبْعَةُ أَشْبَارٍ بِشِبْرٍ نَفْسَهُ Similarly 15 Mirza fol. 80<sup>b</sup> from Imâm ar-Râzî's (died 606/1209) *Milâj wa'n-Nihâj* وَبِعَاقِبَتِ رَأْيٍ أَوْ بِدَانٍ قَرَارٌ كُثُرٌ فَرَتْ كَهْ هَفْتَ بَدَسْتَ أَسْتَ . Accordingly, the most proportionate human figure is that whose height (“length,” 53 note 2) is seven times the size of its own “span,” 20 and Hishâm, who was excessively anthropomorphistic (p. 66<sup>g</sup>), conceived God as a human figure of the most proportionate size. But “span” (shibr) is too large in this connection. Perhaps it signifies here a smaller measure (see Dozy sub voce).

Interesting and characteristic of Hishâm's doctrine is the 25 notice Bagd. 20<sup>a</sup>: وَذَكَرَ أَبُو الْهَذِيلَ فِي بَعْضِ كُتُبِهِ أَنَّهُ لَقِيَ هَشَامَ: بَنِ الْحَكْمِ بِمَكَّةَ عِنْدَ جَبَلِ أَبِي قُبَيْسٍ فَسَأَلَهُ أَيُّهَا أَكْبَرُ مَعْبُودَةٍ امْ هَذَا الْجَبَلُ قَالَ فَأَشَارَ إِلَى أَنَّ الْجَبَلَ يُوْفَ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى (أَيْ add

أَنَّ الْجَبَلَ أَعْظَمُ مِنْهُ). “Hishâm indicated that the mountain towered above Him the Exalted, i. e. (he meant to say) that 30 the mountain was bigger than God.”

— L. 3. The reading adopted in the text is found Text p. 75<sup>23</sup> and Bagd. 124<sup>a</sup> (with a soft ح under the line). الجواري occurs frequently, see the variants 53 n. 4 and 75 n. 11, Shahr.

[53] ٧٧ (=Haarbr. 115); Wolff, *Drusen* 48. الجواري is found Shahr. 143 (Haarbr. 215); Isfr. ٥٥<sup>a</sup> and is also reflected in the reading of Ed. in our text, note 4.—On his extravagantly anthropomorphic doctrines see the sources just quoted, espec. Shahr. 143.

— L. 6. I. H. refers twice to the same belief in his *Milal*. Ed. II, 78<sup>b</sup>: “Those of them (the Shiites) who are the least extravagant (still) believe that the sun was turned back twice for Ali b. A. T.” Ed. V, 3<sup>22</sup>, in discussing the question whether miracles can be performed by non-prophets, he refers to “the 10 claim of the Rawâfid that the sun was turned back twice for Ali b. A. T.” He quotes as illustration a poem of as-Sayyid al-Himyari referring to the turning back of the sun, in order to enable Ali to recite the prescribed prayer (see later), and to the same miracle happening a second time—if the reading be correct—in Babylon (‘Irâk).<sup>1</sup> He further quotes a poem by Ḥabib b. Aus (Abû Tamâm, died 231) of which the last verse reads thus: “By Allah, I do not know whether Ali has appeared to us and the sun has been turned back for him, or whether Joshua has been among the people.” He points out, however, that the 20 verse in this form is a forgery and that the correct reading offers something entirely different.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The quotation from as-Sayyid which is found in L. II, 166<sup>b</sup> is omitted in Ed. and runs as follows:

[الكامل]

رَدَتْ عَلَيْهِ الشَّمْسُ حِينَ يَفْوَتُهُ \* وَقَدْ دَنَتْ لِمَغْرِبِ  
حَتَّى يُلْحِّ نُورُهَا فِي وَقْتِهَا \* لِلْعَصْرِ ثُمَّ هَوَتْ هَوَى الْكَوَاكِبِ  
(الكوكب.)  
وَعَلَيْهِ قَدْ رَدَتْ بِبَابِلَ مَرَّةً \* أُخْرَى وَمَا رَدَتْ بِخَلْقِ مَغْرِبِ  
(L. unp.)

I am not certain as to the meaning of مغرب (sic) بخلق. In L follows a rhymed refutation by Ibn Hazm which is missing in Ed. The text is too doubtful to allow of a reproduction.

قال أبو محمد وأنما الرواية العجيبة<sup>2</sup>

فَوَاللَّهِ مَا أَدْرِي أَحْلَامُ نَائِمٍ \* الْمَتْ بِنَا كَانَ فِي الْقَوْمِ يُوشَعَ  
This remark is missing in Ed. In the second verse L offers the undoubtedly correct reading وَانطَوْيَ لَبْهَجَتْهَا شَوْبُ السَّمَاءِ الْجَرَعُ.

The miracle of the standstill of the sun is reported in connection with Ali in two cases. In one case the sun halted to enable Ali to complete the conquest of a besieged city. The Sunnites claim this miracle for the Prophet (see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 331 and at the end of this note). In the other <sup>5</sup> Muhammed bids the sun to rise again to enable the belated Ali to recite the afternoon prayer, Goldziher *ib.*, and note 9. It seems that official Shiitic tradition takes cognizance merely of the latter case. At least it is the only one which figures as “the Hadith of the Turning back of the Sun” recorded by <sup>10</sup> Sibt, *Imams* fol. 32<sup>a</sup>. I reproduce the chapter in extenso as it gives an exhaustive presentation of the subject and contains, besides, numerous points of interest.

حَدِيثَ رَدِّ الشَّمْسِ، أَنَا أَبُو الْقَاسِمِ عَبْدُ الْخُّسْنَ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ

<sup>15</sup>ابن احمد الطوسي قال اخبرنا والى عبد الله بن احمد

الطوسي قال اخبرنا ابو الحسين بن النقوري اخبرنا ابن خبابة

بننا البغوي ثنا طالوت بن عباد بن ابراهيم بن الحسن عن

فاطمة بنت الحسين عن اسماء بنت عميس قالت كان رأس رسول

الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في خبر على عليه السلام وهو يوحى

<sup>20</sup>اليه فلم يصل العصر حتى غربت الشمس فقال رسول الله صلى

الله عليه اللهم إلهي كان في طاعتك وطاعة رسولك فأردده عليه

الشمس فردها الله له وقد ضعف قوم هذا الحديث وذكرة

جدى<sup>1</sup> في كتاب الموضوعات وقال<sup>2</sup> في إسناده جماعة ضعفاء

وسماهم ثم قال وصلوة العصر صارت قضا<sup>3</sup> ولا يفيد رجوع

<sup>25</sup>الشمس [32<sup>b</sup>] قلت قد حكى القاضي عياض<sup>4</sup> في كتاب الشفاعة

<sup>1</sup> Jamâl ad-Dîn Abû'l-Faraj al-Jauzî, died 597/1200, Brockelmann I, 500.

<sup>2</sup> Here begins the quotation.

<sup>3</sup> See the definition given by Ta'rifât in Freytag's *Lexicon sub voce*.

<sup>4</sup> Died 544/1149, Brockelmann, I, 369.

بتعريف حقوق المصطفى عن الطحاوى<sup>1</sup> آنه ذكره في شرح [53] مُشكِّل الحديث وقال روى عن طريقيْن صحيحيْن عن اسماء بنت عميس ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم كان رأسه في حُجُّر على عليه السلام وهو يُوحى اليه وذكرته وفته (وفته Ms: ) فقال له رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلم أصلّيَّت العصر فقال لا فقال رسول الله اللهم آنه كان في طاعتك وطاعة رسولك فاردُّ عليه الشمس قالت اسماء فرأيْتها طلعت بعد ما غربت ووقفت على رؤس الجبال وذلك بالصهباء<sup>2</sup> في خيبر قال الطحاوى وهاتان الروايتان ثابتتان وروافعها ثقافت قال الطحاوى كان احمد بن صالح يقول لا ينبغي لمن سببِلُه العِلْمُ التَّخَلُّفُ عن حديث<sup>10</sup> اسماء لآنه من علامات النبوة وقوله صارت صلوة العصر قضاء قلت اذا كان رجوع الشمس من علامات حَقَّةِ نبوةِ نبِيِّنا عليه السلام فكذا تصير صلاة العصر أَدَاءً حُكْمًا لأنّ القضاء يحكى الفائت والعجب من هذا وقد ثبَّتَ في الصحيح ان الشمس حُبِّسَتْ ليوضع بين ثُنُون ولا يخلو إِمَّا أن يكون ذلك مُعْجِزَة<sup>15</sup> لموسى عليه السلام [33<sup>a</sup>] او ليوضع فِيْنْ كان لموسى فنِبِيِّنا صلّى الله عليه افضل وعلى علّيٍّ عليه السلام اقرب اليه من يوضع الى موسى وان كان مُعْجِزَةً ليوضع فلا خلاف ان عَلَيْهَا عليه السلام افضل من يوضع لأنّ أَدَاءَ أَحْوَاله ان يكون كواحد (<sup>? من الانبياء add</sup>) وقد قال صلّى الله عليه عَلَمَاءُ أَمْتَنِي كأنبياء<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Died 321/933, Brock., I, 173.

<sup>2</sup> The author of *Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos* (wrote about 942/1535), ed. van den Ham, Leyden 1890, p. 243, quotes this hadith almost verbatim.

[53] بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلْ فَعْلَمَ أَنَّ الْحَدِيثَ ثَابِتٌ، وَفِي الْبَابِ حَكَايَةُ حَجِيبَةُ  
 حَكَاهَا جَمَاعَةٌ مِنْ مَشَايِخِنَا قَالُوا جَلَسَ ابْنُ مَنْصُورِ الْمَظَفَرِ  
 ابْنُ أَرْدَشِيرِ الْعَبَادِيِّ الْوَاعِظِ<sup>١</sup> بِالنَّاجِيَةِ مَدِرَسَةِ بَيْبَابِ ابْرَزِ بَغْدَادِ  
 بَعْدِ الْعَصَرِ وَذَكَرَ حَدِيثَ رُدَّنِ الشَّمْسِ وَشَرَعَ فِي فَضَائِلِ أَهْلِ الْبَيْتِ  
 فَنَشَأَتْ سَحَابَةُ غَطَّاتِ الشَّمْسِ حَتَّى ظَنَّ النَّاسُ أَنَّهَا قَدْ غَابَتْ  
 فَقَامَ ابْنُ مَنْصُورٍ عَلَى الْمِنْبَرِ قَائِمًا وَأَوْصَى إِلَى الشَّمْسِ وَارْجَلَ فِي الْحَالِ  
 وَقَالَ [الْكَامِلُ]  
 لَا تَغْرِبِي يَا شَمْسُ حِينَ يَنْتَهِي \* مَدْحِي لَلِّلَّهِ الْمُصْطَفَى وَلِنَجْلِهِ  
 وَلَنَجْلِهِ عَنَانَكِ إِنْ أَرَدْتِ تَنَاءُهُمْ \* أَنْسَيْتِ إِذْ كَانَ الْوَقْوُفُ لِجَلِهِ  
 إِنْ كَانَ لِلْمَوْلَى وَقُوْفُكَ فَلِيَكُنْ \* هَذَا الْوَقْوُفُ لَخَيْلِهِ وَلِرَجْلِهِ<sup>١٠</sup>  
 وَطَلَعَتِ الشَّمْسُ فَلَا يُدْرِي مَا دَوْمِي<sup>٢</sup> عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الْأَمْوَالِ وَالْبَنَاتِ.

In conclusion follows a lengthy poem bearing on this hadith by Ibn 'Abbâd called *Kâfi'l-Kufât* (died 385).

It is clear from this account that the legend wavers between the standstill of the sun (see the legend quoted at the beginning;<sup>15</sup> the verses just quoted speak in the same way of "Wukûf") and its rising again, the latter being represented in the hadith attributed to Asmâ. The two forms of the legend bear the same relation to one another as the solar miracle of Joshua (Joshua 10, 13) to the one under Hezekiah (II Kings 20, 11; 20 Is. 38, 8).

The hadith owes its origin to the Shiitic tendency to pattern the biography of Ali, the "waṣî" (legatee, cf. Introd. p. 22) of Muhammed, after Joshua, the *waṣî* of Moses. See another instance of this tendency, *Shahr. 132*. I believe for this reason<sup>25</sup> that the miracle referred to p. 69<sup>3</sup> is originally a Shiitic invention and its transfer to Muhammed a polemical attempt on the part of the Sunnites.

<sup>1</sup> Died 547<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Or دَوْمِي. I am not quite clear as to the meaning of this sentence.

[53] — L. 9. I am not certain as to the meaning of this line. Does the reference to the nearness of age (see note 9) imply a reproach against Asmā, the author of the hadith? I cannot make out what the reference to the multitude of people, which is missing in L. Br., is meant to convey here.

— L. 12. The doctrine of Badā (i. e. “pleasing”): if anything pleases God, he may change a previous decision) presupposes the belief in the changeability of the Divine Will (cf. p. 66<sup>25</sup>) and is a counterpart of the orthodox belief in

<sup>10</sup> *Naskh* (the abolition by God of a previously revealed Law).

Generally this doctrine is regarded as a specific tenet of the Keisāniyya, Bagd. 11<sup>1</sup>; Makr. 352<sup>2</sup>; Iji, who makes no mention of the Keisāniyya, enumerates in their stead the Badā'iyya (348<sup>4</sup>). This belief is supposed to have been invented *ad hoc* <sup>15</sup> by Mukhtār (p. 79<sup>17</sup>) when, contrary to his prophecies, he was defeated in battle, Bagd. 15<sup>a</sup>; Isfr. 11<sup>a</sup>; Shahr. 110. Wellhausen, however, points out (*Opp.* 88) that, according to Tab. II, 732<sup>10</sup> and 706<sup>14</sup>, it was ‘Abdallah b. Nauf who originated this doctrine, in opposition to Mukhtār.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The Zeidite Suleimān b. Jarīr (p. 136<sup>7</sup>) makes the Rawāfid (= Imāmiyya, Appendix A) in general responsible for this belief, Shahr. 119 penult.<sup>2</sup> IBab., however, (I‘tikadat fol. 6<sup>a</sup>) protests against those who charge the Imāmites with Badā. These people merely imitate the Jews who prefer the same charge (he <sup>25</sup> apparently means *Naskh*) against the Muslims. He quotes Ja‘far as-Ṣādik as saying that he who believes in Badā is a Kāfir.<sup>3</sup>

A curious instance of the application of the Badā doctrine is quoted IAth. VIII, 21. Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb (p. 112) and his adherents claimed that no sword could do them any harm. But when some of them had been executed, he resorted to the pretext: “since it pleased God to do otherwise, how can I help it”?

اذا كان قد بدا لله فما حيلتى.

<sup>1</sup> It must be remarked, however, that Tab. II, 732<sup>10</sup>, a variant, reads Mukhtār instead of ‘Abdallah b. Nauf.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is quoted Anon. Sufi fol. 120<sup>a</sup> in the name of Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (died 606<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> The text of this passage is apparently corrupt and does not allow of a reproduction.

— L. 13, I have not been able to find an authority for [53] this statement. The number of (official) wives legally permitted by law is four, Koran 4, 4.

— L. 14. On similar dietary restrictions by a Carmathian missionary see later p. 76<sup>14</sup>. The prohibition of cabbage is very <sup>5</sup> old. The pagans considered the eating of it disgraceful and the Harranians in later times clung to the same custom, Chwolsohn, *Ssabier* II, 110. In our passage apparently the red cabbage is referred to. The reason given for the prohibition reminds one vividly of the popular Shiitic notion—which <sup>10</sup> originally was no doubt but a poetical figure—that the sunset glow represents the blood of al-Husein and never existed before, Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 331.

— L. 18. This notion is probably the consequence of the great emphasis laid by the Shiites on the significance of the <sup>15</sup> name Ali (“Exalted”). One is reminded of Koran 19, 8, where the prediction of Yahya’s (John’s) birth is followed by the solemn declaration لَمْ يَجْعَلْ لَهُ مِنْ قَبْلُ سَمِيًّا. Comp. also the stress laid on the identity of the Mahdi’s name with that of the Prophet, p. 53.

54, 1. 1. Comp. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* B 13.—“Von ihm [54] (i. e., Ali b. Bekr. b. Wâil) kommen alle, die im Stämme Nizâr mit ihrem Geschlechtsnamen ‘Alawî genannt werden” (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, from Nawâwî).

— Note 1. See Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* C 13.

<sup>25</sup>

— L. 3. Azd. see ib., e. g., 11<sup>18,21</sup>; Bajila, e. g., 9<sup>16</sup>.

— Note 2. Ali b. Jasr b. Muhârib b. Khasafa, ib. D 10.—Ali b. Mas‘ûd, 11<sup>19</sup>.—‘Abd Manât, N 9.—Hisn, grandson of Ali b. Mas‘ûd, C 15.

— L. 5. ‘Âmir b. at-Tufeil, a contemporary of the Prophet, <sup>20</sup> ib. E 20. His kunya Abû ‘Alî, see Agh., *Tables* sub voce

أبو على.

— L. 9. This conception is not specifically Shiitic but rather belongs to the domain of Kalâm. Makr. 348<sup>10</sup>, at the end of his account on the Mu‘tazila, mentions a special sect المُفْنِيَةُ الْقَاتِلُونَ <sup>25</sup>

بِقَنَاءِ الْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ. I. H. refers to it more explicitly Ed. IV, 83<sup>21</sup> ff. in a special chapter on “the eternal existence of the

[54] residents of Paradise and Hell": "All sects of the (Muhammedan) Community agree that there is no decay for Paradise and its pleasure nor for Hell and its pain. The only exceptions are Jahm b. Ṣafwān, Abū'l-Hudeil al-'Allāf and *some of the Rawāfiḍ*.<sup>1</sup> Jahm maintains that both Paradise and Hell will decay and their residents as well.<sup>1</sup> Abū'l-Hudeil, however, maintains that neither Paradise and Hell nor their residents will decay. But the movements of the latter will decay and they will remain in an immovable state like a mineral. In spite of it, they will be alive and enjoy pleasure and suffer pain respectively. The party of the Rawāfiḍ referred to above believes that the residents of Paradise will leave Paradise and the residents of Hell will leave Hell for some unknown destination (lit.: whither it is Allah's desire)."<sup>2</sup> See Iji 336; Makr. 349<sup>28</sup>.—On Abū'l-Hudeil's view see de Boer, p. 51.

A certain heretic by the name of 'Abdallah b. 'Abdallah b. Shunayf attacks a friend of I. H. on account of his belief in the eternity of Paradise and Hell, Ed. I, 19.

— L. 11. The eternity of the world is taught by the Mu'āmariyya, a section of the Khaṭṭābiyya, p. 114<sup>11</sup>, see Shahr. 137 = Makr. 352<sup>8</sup>; Iji 346. This belief is the outcome of the doctrine of Transmigration (Makr.), as the latter, taking the place of Reward and Punishment after death, dispenses with Resurrection and accordingly with the establishment of a new world. Isfr 57<sup>b</sup> is apparently aware of this connection when he curtly remarks: **أَنَّ الدُّنْيَا لَا تَفْنَى وَكَانُوا يُنْكِرُونَ الْقِيَامَةَ وَيَقُولُونَ**

بِتَنَاسُخِ الْأَرْوَاحِ.

The way this view is contrasted with the belief in the decay of Paradise and Hell suggests a connection between them. In point of fact, the belief in Transmigration, when carried out logically, not only necessitates the eternity of this world, but, fulfilling the function of Reward and Punishment, dispenses altogether with Paradise and Hell. IBab., *Itikādāt* 12<sup>b</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Kashi 177: an-Nazzām (p. 58<sup>6</sup>) said to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (p. 65<sup>11</sup>): "The residents of Paradise will not exist in Paradise an eternal existence" and so forth.

<sup>2</sup> The last words most probably refer to the belief mentioned later, p. 85<sup>11</sup> ff.

fully recognizes this connection: **وَالْقُولُ بِالْتَّنَاسُخِ بَاطِلٌ وَمَنْ** [54]

**دَانَ بِالْتَّنَاسُخِ فَهُوَ كَافِرٌ لَأَنَّ فِي التَّنَاسُخِ إِبْطَالُ الْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ**.

— L. 12, ff. Bekrî, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Alger, 1857, p. 161, gives a brief description of this sect which offers several important points of comparison with the account of I. H. I give Bekrî's passage in translation: “To the right of the Banû Mâgûs there is a tribe called Banû Lamâs. They are all Rawâfid and known under the name Bajaliyyûn. There settled in their midst a Bajalite<sup>1</sup> of the people of Naftâ in Kastilia, before Abû ‘Abdallah ash-<sup>10</sup> Shî‘î entered Ifrikiya.<sup>2</sup> His name was Muhammed b. Wrstd

(ورستد sic). He called upon them (read **وَدَعَاهُمْ** to denounce the Companions (of the Prophet) and permitted them forbidden things . . . They still adhere to his doctrine to this day and (believe) that the Imamate is permissible only in the descendants of al-Hasan, not in those of al-Husein. Their ruler was Idrîs Abû'l-Kâsim b. Muhammed b. Ja‘far b. ‘Abdallah b. Idrîs.”

The name of the founder of this sect appears here in a different form. IHaukal 65<sup>21</sup> (=Yakut I, 320) agrees with I. H. in calling him **ابن وَرْصَنَد**, but they omit the mention of his first<sup>20</sup> name. The name and pedigree of their ruler are altogether different and I have no means to decide which are the correct ones.<sup>3</sup>

As regards the cardinal doctrine of this sect—the limitation of the Imamate to the Hasanides—Bekrî agrees with I. H. (55, l. 5).<sup>25</sup> In contradiction with it, IHaukal (=Yakut) reports that they were Mûsawites (cf. p. 40), i. e. acknowledged the Imamate of Mûsa b. Ja‘far, who was descended from al-Husein. The former statement is no doubt correct, as the Idrisides who ruled over them were Hasanides.

— L. 14. On Naftâ see Yakut IV, 800. It is two days' journey from Kafṣâ, mentioned in the same line, ib. Kafṣâ, a small place (**بَلْدَةٌ صَغِيرَةٌ**), lies three days from Keirowan, ib.

<sup>1</sup> **رَجُلٌ بَجْلَى**, of the tribe Bajîla?

<sup>2</sup> i. e. before 280<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. Leyd. omits the Idrisides in Africa.

[54] IV, 151. Kastilia mentioned here is not the Spanish province, but a region in Northwest Africa on the great Zâb, Yakut IV, 97; see also I, 892, IV, 151. The emendation proposed, note 11, is not necessary.

<sup>5</sup> It is worthy of notice that the people of this region, from which the founder of this Shiitic sect came, were Khârijites, Yakut IV, 97, 800.

— L. 16. The city mentioned here is as-Sûs al-Aksa. It is fully two months' journey from as-Sûs al-Adna, Yakut III, 10 189.—On the Masmûda tribes, see Kremer, *Ideen* 383, note.

[55] 55, l. 2. According to IHaukal (=Yakut) ib. the two parties of the city (the others were Mâlikites) alternately worshipped in the same mosque.

— L. 3. The prohibition seems to be of Hindoo origin. The 15 Laws of Manu V, 5, forbid the priest to eat (among other things): “garlick, onions, leeks and mushrooms, and *all vegetables raised in dung.*” Comp. Chwolsohn, *Ssabier* II, 109.

— Note 1. On ‘Abdallah b. Yâsîn, the founder of the Almoravide dynasty (middle 11th century), see Dozy, *Isl.* 359 ff. 20 The by-name al-Mu’tâwwi‘ I have not found elsewhere.

— L. 7. See also Text, p. 80, l. 2. On Abû Kâmil, see Bagd. 121<sup>a</sup>, 136<sup>a</sup>; Shahr. 133; Iji 343; Makr. 352.

— L. 17. See also Text 80, l. 4. The author of this contention, which is certainly not unjustified, is unfortunately not 25 known. The contention itself is not mentioned in the other sources.

— L. 22. **المتوسّطة في الغلوّ** more literally “who occupy the middle as regards ‘extremism.’” From the point of view of guluww the Shi‘a appears divided into three parts: the Zeidîyya who are entirely free from it, the Imâmiyya who partly adhere to it (comp., e. g., Raj‘â, Tanâsukh, etc.), and the Gâliyya who unflinchingly profess it. The reading of L. Br. (note 6) “who keep back from guluww” is thus justified. However this may be, the Imamites themselves protest against 35 any affinity with the Gûlât. IBab., *I‘tikâdât* 22<sup>b</sup> (in a special

chapter **فِي الغلوّ** (in **نَفْي**) emphatically declares that they are infidels.

— Note 7. They betray Islam, because both Koran and Hadith insist that Muhammed is the last prophet, comp. Text 47, l. 8 f.

— Note 8. The reading of L. Br. is no doubt correct. Poly-[55] theism is not the charge usually preferred against the Jews by Muhammedan theologians. This would confirm our supposition as to the later date of Codd. L. Br., see Introd. p. 19.

56, l. 3. On the Ḡurābiyya see IKot. 300; Iji 346; Makr. <sup>5</sup> 353<sup>22</sup>; Bagd. 98<sup>a</sup>; Isfr. 58<sup>b</sup>. The latter two and Iji state the [56] comparison more elaborately: “more than one raven the other one and one fly the other one.” The adherents of this sect curse the “sāhib ar-rīsh,” i. e. Jibrīl. In a parallel between the Rawāfiḍ and the Jews put into the mouth of ash-Sha‘bī (*Ikhd* 269, <sup>10</sup> comp. p. 19<sup>16</sup>) the two are identified because of their dislike of Gabriel.<sup>1</sup> Bagd. 98<sup>b</sup> sorrowfully remarks that the Ḡāliya are even worse than the Jews, for the latter, though disliking Gabriel, yet abstain from cursing him.

In his polemics against Judaism, I. H. (Ed. I, 138<sup>9</sup>) very <sup>15</sup> cleverly draws a parallel between the Jews who believe that Isaac confounded Esau with Jacob and the Ḡurābiyya. “This contention (of the Jews) very closely resembles the stupidity of the Ḡurābiyya<sup>2</sup> among the Rāfiḍa who believe that Allah dispatched Jibrīl to Ali,<sup>3</sup> but Jibrīl erred and went to Muhammed. <sup>20</sup> In the same way Isaac blessed Esau, but the blessing erred and went to Jacob. Upon both parties (may rest) the curse of Allah !”

— L. 13 f. Ali was about thirty years younger than the Prophet (comp. Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 315). Consequently he was <sup>25</sup> ten years old when Muhammed made his first appearance. The same is assumed Ed. IV, 142<sup>16</sup> and in the variant of L. Br. to our passage (note 7): The reading of Ed. seems to be incorrect. But there is a difference of opinion as to the date of Ali’s birth, see I. H in the quoted passage and Tab. I, 3467<sup>12</sup> ff. <sup>30</sup>

— L. 15 ff. On Muhammed’s physical appearance see Ibn Hishām I, 266; Tab. I, 1789 ff.; Nawawī, *Tahdīb* 32–33. It is interesting to observe that I. H is unprejudiced enough to point out that Muhammed was above middle-size. The other writers

<sup>1</sup> Allusion to Koran II, 91, comp. Geiger, *Was hat Muhammed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. has **الغالبة**, but V 80<sup>a</sup>, and L I, 54<sup>b</sup> (which in this section of *Milal* sides with Ed.) have the correct reading.

<sup>3</sup> V. + **رسالة** **والنبيّة** Ed. L. missing.

[56] anxiously insist that the Prophet was neither short nor tall, but the exact medium between the two.

[57] 57, l. 1 ff. On Ali's appearance see Tab. I, 3470<sup>7</sup> (=IAth. III, 333); *Tahdîb* 441 penult.—Sibî, *Imams* fol. 4<sup>a</sup>, gives a

5 similar description of Ali: **كان آدم شديداً الأدماء عظيم العينين** (read **غليظ الساعدين**) **اقرب إلى القصر من الطول عريض الحبة**

**أصلع أصلع** (read **أبيض الرأس والحبة**). Ali looked particularly short because of his corpulence. Whenever Ali appeared on the market of Kufa, the satirical Persians would exclaim

10 **بزق اشكنب آمد** “Here comes the big-bellied man!” (ZDMG.

38, 392, from *Mâdâinî*). It is characteristic that both Sunnitic and Shiitic writers anxiously avoid to mention this feature of Ali which is so repugnant to the Arabic taste. Of all the sources at my disposal I find, besides the reference quoted 15 above, only one more allusion to it in *Ikhd* II, 274 (دطينًا).

— L. 11. The number 23 is not exact. The interval between Muhammed's first appearance and his death was  $21\frac{1}{2}$  lunar years; see the list in Sprenger, *Leben Muhammed's* I, 205.

— L. 12. On **طريق** (note 17) see p. 55<sup>16</sup>.

20 58, l. 3. The exclusive (note 3) reverence of Ali is characteristic of several sects: the Sabâiyya (Text 71<sup>18</sup>) and the 'Ulyâniyya and Nušeiriyya, which, according to I. H. (Text 66, l. 17 and 71, l. 18), are branches of the former.

25 — L. 4 ff. The persons named in the following are the twelve Imams of the Ithnâ'ashariyya. The biographical data concerning these Imams can best be learned from the list in Abu'l-Maali, p. 164–165, see Schefer's Introduction, p. 184 f. A more detailed account Diyarbekri II, 286–288. The omission (in l. 6) of the tenth Imam, Ali b. Muhammed (al-Hâdi at-Takî, 30 born 214, died 254), is, it seems, not accidental. For in accordance with it, Ali (l. 7) is changed to Muhammed. The same omission and the same change are exhibited by Codd. L. Br. Text p. 76, note 4 and 5.<sup>19</sup> Whether this peculiar error is due to his proximity to the eighth Imam, who bears the same name, 3 or to some more significant circumstance, is difficult to determine.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. IV, 103<sup>10,1</sup> his genealogy is given correctly.

— Note 6. It is worthy of note that the benediction **عليه السلام** is [58] added only after the name of Ja‘far. Ja‘far as-Şâdîk (died 146) was not only the patron-saint of the Shiites. He was also highly esteemed by the Sunnites, see p. 105<sup>12</sup>. Cf. ZDMG. 50, 123.

— L. 10. On the Carmathians, see p. 19, l. 32. Muhammed b. Ismâ‘il at-Tâmm, “the Completer,” is the seventh and last “open” Imam in the belief of the Sab‘iyya, or “Seveners.” After him begins the series of hidden Imams, Shahr. 127 ff., 146. The Carmathian missionary Yahya b. Dîkrweih pretended that he was this Muhammed, Tab. III, 2218 (anno 289). <sup>10</sup>

— L. 12. Read: “This is *a party*.” On the Keisâniyya, see p. 33 ff. The Keisâniyya do not agree as to whether Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya inherited the Imamate directly from Ali, or indirectly through Hasan and Husein, Shahr. 110. Kuthayyir (p. 134<sup>28</sup>) speaks of *four* Imams, comp. Barbier de Meynard in *Journal Asiatique*, 1874, p. 164.

— L. 13. On Mukhtâr, see Shahr. 110 (he distinguishes between the Keisâniyya and Mukhtâriyya). Very elaborate accounts on Mukhtâr with specimens of his *saj‘* can be found Bagd. 12<sup>b</sup> ff.; Isfr. 10<sup>b</sup> ff. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 74 ff., gives an elaborate sketch of his personality.

59, l. 1 ff. On Mugîra see the passages in Index.—Text 34, [59] n. 5, Ed. and Codd. have *bnu Abî Sa‘id*. Ed. I, 112 ult. and elsewhere correctly. Sa‘d instead of Sa‘id occurs *Agh.* XIX, 58, *Ikd* 267. Abu'l-Maali 157, gives him the by-name <sup>25</sup> **مُجَرِّد**. According to Shahr. 134, Makr. 353<sup>1</sup> (=de Sacy XLVI) he was a “client” of Khâlid al-Kâsrî, who afterwards executed him. It is possible, however, that this is a mere inference drawn from the fact that Khâlid’s clan Kâṣî belonged, as did Mugîra (l. 2), to the Bajîla tribe (IKot. 203; IKhall. No. 212). He <sup>30</sup> is specifically designated as al-‘Ijlî (of the Banû ‘Ijlî) Shahr. 134; Iji 344; Makr. 349<sup>2</sup>, 353<sup>1</sup>; Bagd. 95<sup>b</sup>; Isfr. 54<sup>b</sup>, 56<sup>a</sup>; Tabârî Index (in the text the statement is missing). This is significant in connection with van Vloten, *Worgers*, p. 57, and later, p. 89<sup>26</sup> ff. Mugîra rose against Khâlid b. ‘Abdallah al-Kâsrî, the <sup>35</sup> wâli of Kufa, in 119, accompanied by twenty (*Kâmil* ed. Wright 20<sup>15</sup>; Makr. 353<sup>2</sup>), according to Tab. II, 1621<sup>6</sup> only by seven men. Despite their small number they spread such terror around them (the reason, see p. 92<sup>12</sup> ff.), that Khâlid, who chanced

[59] to be in the pulpit when he heard of their uprising, came near fainting and asked for a glass of water, an action which made him the object of general ridicule, *Kāmil ib.*, *Agh.* XIX, 58, XV, 121 (here they are called by the general name al-Ja'fariyya, <sup>5</sup> see p. 107<sup>12</sup>), *Makr.* 35<sup>3</sup>, *van Vloten*, *Worgers*, 58. The rebels were crucified, *Tab.* I, 1620<sup>2</sup>; *IKot.* 300 ("in Wāsit"); *Ik<sup>d</sup>* 267 (probably quotation from *IKot.*). According to another version (*Tab.* 1620<sup>b</sup> ff.; *I. H.* Text 60, l. 17; *Ik<sup>d</sup> ib.*), they were burned at the stake.

<sup>10</sup> An exposition of Muğîra's doctrines is found *Shahr.*, *Iji*, *Makr.*, *IKot.*, *Ik<sup>d</sup>*, very elaborately *Bagd.* 95<sup>b</sup> and, more briefly, *Isfr.* 56<sup>a</sup>. His tenets, which show all the earmarks of "ğuluww," seem to have exercised a powerful influence in ultra-Shiitic circles. The Imamites solicitously reject any connection <sup>15</sup> with Muğîra, see the article on Muğîra, *Kashi* 145 ff. Ja'far as-Şâdik is reported as saying that all the extravagant views to be found in the writings of his father's (Muhammed al-Bâkir's, died 117<sup>h</sup>) followers are forgeries of Muğîra, *ib.* 146, 147.

His system, if system it be called, presents an odd mixture of <sup>20</sup> ancient Eastern beliefs and distinctly shows the influence of gnostic, notably of Mandæan and Manichæan, doctrines. The Mandæans were very numerous in Irâk; at the time of the Abbassides they are said to have had there 400 churches. Their head resided in Bagdad.<sup>1</sup> The Manichæans, too, were identified with 'Irâk. Mani was born in Babylonia, and he was believed (according to al-Bîrûnî) to have been sent to the people of Babylonia only. Their head had to reside in Babylonia.<sup>2</sup> The Harrâniacs, too, who may be mentioned in this connection, were very numerous in 'Irâk.<sup>3</sup> On these influences <sup>25</sup> see *van Vloten*, *Chiitisme* 47; *Blochet* 135, the latter also in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, XL (1899), p. 25, note 1.<sup>4</sup>

It can scarcely be doubted that ultimately all these influences root in the ancient religion of Babylonia; see Kessler *ibidem*,

<sup>1</sup> Kessler, Article "Mandäer" in *PRE*<sup>3</sup>, XII (1903), p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Kessler, Article "Manichäer" *ibidem*, p. 226, *Flügel*, *Mani* 97, 105.

<sup>3</sup> Chwolsohn, *Ssabier* I, 482 ff.

<sup>4</sup> It is perhaps not insignificant that a part of the Banû 'Ijl (see above p. 79<sup>31</sup>) who lived in Bahrein "completely passed into the Persian nationality." Goldziher, "Islamisme et Parsisme" in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* XLIII (1901), p. 23.

passim, the same, "Gnosis und alt-babylonische Religion" in [59] *Abhandlungen des 5. Orientalistencongresses* (Berlin, 1882), p. 297 ff.

In the following an attempt is made to point out the various sources of Muğîra's doctrines. It does not claim to be more <sup>5</sup> than an attempt. A closer acquaintance with the religions and literatures under consideration will no doubt bring to light far more numerous points of contact.<sup>1</sup>

— L. 5. The corporeal conception of the Godhead was current in Shiitic circles, see, e. g., p. 67. The crown in this connection is found in various philosophemes. In the Cabbala the "Crown" (כתר) is the highest of the Ten Sefiroth (Spheres). The latter are represented in the shape of a man with a crown on his head; comp. the diagram in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* I, 181<sup>b</sup> and in the *Hebrew Encyclopedia* (אוצר ישראל), New <sup>15</sup> York, 1907, I, 183. See also later, p. 83.

According to Shahr.; Makr. 349<sup>a</sup>; Bagd. 95<sup>b</sup> f. and others, Muğîra believed that God was a man of *light* bearing a crown of *light*. This reminds one of the Mandaean doctrine of the "King of Light." Brandt, *Mandäische Religion* (Göttingen 1889) §§ 19–20, 80–81; the same, *Mandäische Schriften* (Göttingen 1893), p. 13–19.

— L. 6. Bagd. 96<sup>a</sup> is less scrupulous and adds two more instances: 'Ain for the eye and Hâ for the pudenda. A very similar description of God is quoted in the name of the Gnostics by Irenaeus, *adversus Haereticos*<sup>2</sup> XIV, 3. A Jewish parallel, see in Gaster, "Das Schiur Komah," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 37 (1893), p. 225. Similar speculations about the shape of the letters in the name ﷺ and ﷺ (the latter in Kûfîc), see Blochet, 133, 192. <sup>30</sup>

— L. 12 ff. This peculiar theory of Creation is evidently the reflection of a Gnostic doctrine. Irenaeus, *adversus Haeret.* XIV 1, reports a similar theory in the name of the Gnostic

<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my friend and colleague, Prof. Louis Ginzberg, who lent me his effectual aid in pointing out the Rabbinical illustrations, the latter, too, bearing witness to the same influences. I profited by his valuable advice also in other parts of this treatise.

<sup>2</sup> The following quotations all refer to the *first* Book.

[59] Marcus<sup>1</sup>: "When first the unoriginated, inconceivable Father, who is without material substance, and is neither male nor female, willed to bring forth that which is ineffable in Him, and to endow with form that which is invisible, He opened His 5 mouth, and sent forth the Word, similar to Himself . . . Moreover, the pronunciation of His name took place as follows: He spake the first word of it which was the beginning [of all the rest] and that utterance consisted of four letters. He added the second," and so forth. In Jewish Mysticism similar 10 notions can be traced. Comp. Menakhoth 29<sup>b</sup>: "God created the two worlds (this and the future world) through the letters Hē and Yôd (constituting the Divine name Yâh)." See also Berakhoth 55<sup>a</sup>. A similar theory is elaborately set forth in Sefer Yesîrah and is to be found in other ancient mystical 15 works. It may be mentioned in this connection that under the influence of a similar notion the Mandæan verb **אָקַר** "to call" has assumed the meaning "to create." See Kessler, art. "Mandäer" *ibid.* p. 164<sup>39</sup> and p. 165.

— L. 12. The “Greatest Name” is, as was already pointed out by de Sacy XLVII, note, identical with the “Shém ha-Méphôrash,” the “Ineffable Name” which occupies so prominent a place in the Jewish mystical speculations of all ages (see M. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Berlin 1901), p. 238 ff.; *Revue des Études Juives* 19, 290 f.). It plays an important part in Islam as well, and here, too, the belief is current that by means of the Ineffable Name all miracles can be easily performed; see, e. g., *Ikhd* 396, and (as an illustration) IKhall. No. 756.<sup>2</sup> Most of the sources dealing with Mugîra report that he claimed

<sup>1</sup> I quote the translation of Roberts and Rambaut, Edinburgh, 1868.

<sup>2</sup> According to I. H., the Jews believed that the sorcerers were able to resuscitate the dead by means of Divine names and that Jesus was able to do the same and to perform miracles generally by the same means, Cod. V 92<sup>b</sup> (missing in Cod. L and Ed. I, 156, which is shorter in this part of the work): **فَانهُمْ كَلَّمُهُمْ مُنْتَفِقُونَ عَلَى أَنَّ السَّكِّرَةَ**

**يُلْكِيُّونَ الْمَوْقَى حَقِيقَةً بِاسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ . . . وَهُمْ لَا يَخْتَلِفُونَ فِي أَنْ عَيْسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ كَانَ يَعْمَلُ الْآيَاتِ بِتِلْكَ الْاسْمَاءِ الْكَاذِبَةِ الَّتِي**  
 لله: comp. S. Krauss in *Jewish Encyclopedia* VII, 171<sup>a</sup>.

to be able to perform miracles and resuscitate the dead through [59] his knowledge of the “Greatest Name.” Tab. ib. puts into his mouth the typical utterance that he had the power to bring to life the ‘Âd and Thamûd and the generations that were between them.<sup>1</sup>

— L. 13. Instead of **فَوْقَ عَلَى تَاجِهِ** “and it (the Greatest Name) fell (L. Br.: *flew and fell*) on his crown,” Bagd., Shahr.

**فَوْقَ عَلَى رَأْسِهِ تَاجِهِ** “fell upon his head *as a crown.*” He referred, as Shahr. and Bagd. tell us, to Koran 87, 1: **وَسَيِّدِ الْأَسْمَاءِ رَبِّ الْأَعْلَى الَّذِي**<sup>10</sup>

**وَزَعَمَ أَنَّ الْأَسْمَاءِ الْأَعْلَى اِنْمَا هُوَ خَلْقَ وَسَوَّيَ** and, as Bagd. explains, **ذَلِكَ التَّاجُ** “he assumed that the Highest Name was identical with this very crown.” The same conception of the identity of the “Shêm ha-Mephôrash” with the Crown is frequently found in the Cabbala. It takes the form that the name was<sup>15</sup> engraved upon the Crown, see *Jew. Enc.* IV, 370<sup>a</sup> and 372<sup>b</sup> (the references can be multiplied).—On the crown of the Mandæan “King of Light” see Brandt, *Mandæische Schriften* 13–19. The Mandæan priests wear during the service a crown (tâj) on the right upper arm, Kessler, article “Mandæer,” p. 214 ult.<sup>20</sup>

— L. 14. Apart from the words left out in Ed. (note 6), the passage reflects the ancient idea, also found in the Bible, that man’s actions are written down in heaven. The additional words of L. Br. are confirmed by Shahr. 135<sup>2</sup>: **وَقَدْ كُتِبَتْ هَذِهِ عَلَى** <sup>25</sup> **كَفَّهِ.**

— L. 15 ff. This queer notion, too, has its root in some Gnostic doctrine. Irenæus, *adv. Haeret.* IV, 2, commenting upon the Gnostic belief that from the tears of Achamoth

<sup>1</sup> This is no doubt the original version. According to IKot. and (probably quoting) Ikd 267, he claimed this power for Ali. This may partly be the reason why these two writers designate Muğîra as one of the Sabâiyya. For the latter was considered as the party of Ali *kat’ ēkōxîr*, see p. 101<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Ginzberg suggests a connection with Is. 49, 16: “Behold I have engraved thee on my palms.” It may be the consequence of some mystic interpretation of this verse.

[59] **חַמְמוֹת** “all that is of a liquid nature was formed,” funnily remarks that he could easily enlarge upon it. “For when I perceive that waters are in part fresh . . . and in part salt, . . . I reflect with myself that all such waters cannot be derived 5 from her tears, inasmuch as these are of a saline quality only. It is clear, therefore, that the waters which are salt are alone those which are derived from her tears. But it is probable that she, in her intense agony and perplexity, was covered with perspiration. And hence, following out their notion, we may 10 conceive that fountains and rivers, and all the fresh waters in the world, are due to this source.” A somewhat similar idea is found in the Talmud (*Hagiga* 13<sup>b</sup>): “Whence does the stream *Dinâr* (*Daniel* 7, 10) come? From the perspiration of the Holy living Creatures.”<sup>1</sup> [Cf. *Bereshith Rabba*, ch. 78.]

15 The two lakes, then, are formed of the Divine tears and the Divine perspiration respectively. They no doubt correspond to the *mâyé siyâwé* and the *mâyé hiwârê*, the “dark and white waters” of the Mandæans; see Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, pp. 30, 43, 51, etc.—Instead of “sweet” (ll. 17 and 22) read 20 “fresh.”

— L. 18 ff. The same conception is found in several Gnostic systems, notably among the Mandæans. “When Life . . . had thus spoken, Abatur rose and opened the gate. He looked into the Dark Water, and at the same hour was formed his image 25 in the Dark Water. Ptahil<sup>2</sup> was formed and he ascended the Place of the Borders.”<sup>3</sup>

Illustrative of l. 19 is the passage in Irenaeus XIV, 1: “The world, again, and all things therein, were made by a certain company of seven angels. Man, too, was the workmanship of 30 angels, a shining image bursting forth below from the presence of the Supreme power; and when they could not, he says, keep hold of this, because it immediately darted upwards again, they exhorted each other saying: let us make man after our image and likeness.”

35 — L. 20. Out of the two eyes of the shadow only two luminaries could naturally be formed. For this reason I disre-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. also Kessler, article “Manichäer,” p. 236 ult.: “The rain was considered to be the perspiration of the toiling archont.”

<sup>2</sup> =Gabriel, the Demiurge of the Mandæans.

<sup>3</sup> Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, p. 184, see also Kessler, ib. p. 210.

gard the additional reading of L. (note 12).<sup>1</sup> Shahr. 135<sup>4</sup> and [59] very similarly Bagd. speak of the sun and the moon. But our text seems to reflect a more complicated and, consequently, more original conception. Perhaps one may combine it with the well-known Jewish legend that originally the two lumi-naries were of equally large size and that the moon was subsequently reduced in size on account of its jealousy.<sup>5</sup>

— L. 22. Sin, and correspondingly Evil as being primitive and co-existent with Creation, is a widespread Gnostic doctrine and is a consequence of Dualism, which is at the bottom of all<sup>10</sup> Gnostic systems. According to Irenaeus XXIV, 2, Saturninus “was the first to affirm that two kinds of men were formed by the angels,<sup>2</sup>—the one wicked, and the other good.”<sup>3</sup>—On the lakes see before.—Instead of “the Faithful,” Makr. 353<sup>6</sup> has “the Shi'a.” Bagd. says more explicitly: الشيعة . . . وهم<sup>15</sup>

المومنون. Extremely interesting in this connection is the passage Ed. IV, 69<sup>4</sup>: “Some people among the Rawâfiḍ are of the opinion that the spirits of the Infidels are in Burhût—this is a well in Hadramaut<sup>5</sup>—and that the spirits of the Faithful are in another place, I think it is al-Jâbiya.”<sup>20</sup>

60, 1. 1. This view is in all probability a reflection of the [60] Clementine doctrine of the “True Prophet” who appears in various ages under different names and forms, but is in reality one, *Clementine Homilies* III, 12 ff., 20; *Recognitiones* I, 16. He is called Christ but he is also identical with Adam, *Recogn.* 25 I, 45, 47. The persons in whom the true Prophet revealed himself are given *Homilies* XVII, 4 (in a statement by Simon Magus) as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses; in XVIII, 13 (in a reply by Peter) as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob [and Christ]. In both the number<sup>30</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Br. reads like Ed.—Note 12 is to be corrected accordingly.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 84<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See a similar conception of the origin of evil, *Clementine Homilies* XX, 8, 9; XIX, 12 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Yakut I, 598, where this belief is derived from a tradition transmitted from the Prophet, Ali and Ibn 'Abbâs. Interesting is the remark that the water of this well is dark and stinking. al-Jâbiya is in Syria, *ibidem* and II, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Ma'âni an-Nafs*, ed. Goldziher, p. 62\*.

[60] seven is evidently intended. This is important in view of the numerous Shiitic doctrines which are based on the same number of prophets (see Index s.v. Seven).—The conception of the “true Prophet” is complemented, it seems, by the Clementine belief that God has the power of changing himself: “for through his inborn Spirit He becomes, by a power which cannot be described, whatever body He likes” (*Homilies* XX, 6). This is practically the doctrine of Incarnation, which is of such fundamental significance for the Ultra-Shi'a.—Another instance of the adaptation of a Clementine doctrine, see p. 116 n. 2.

— L. 2. Jâbir died 128 or, according to another version, 132 (Tab. III, 2501). Either date contradicts the statement Bagd. 97<sup>a</sup> that he was among those who expected the “return”

وَهَارُؤَامٌ<sup>15</sup> يُقالُ لَهُمُ الْمُحَمَّدِيَّةُ مِنَ الرَّافِضَةِ لَا نَتَظَارُهُمْ مُحَمَّدٌ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ

ابْنُ الْحَسْنِ بْنُ الْحَسْنِ وَكَانَ جَابِرُ الْجَعْفَى عَلَى هَذَا الْمَذْهَبِ,  
see also 17<sup>b</sup>. Jâbir was a passionate admirer of Ali and maintained that the latter was meant by “دَابَّةُ الْأَرْضِ” “the beast of the Earth” (Koran 34, 13); Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 113, comp. 20 ZDMG. 38, 391.—The Imamites consider his traditions trustworthy, Kashi 126. He is briefly mentioned Tusy p. 73, No. 139.

— L. 3. ‘Âmir b. Shurâhîl ash-Sha‘bî (ash-Shu‘bî is misprint) died 103 or 104. The sources dealing with this celebrated traditionist are enumerated *Fîhr.* 183 note 14.—Shahr. 145 counts him among the Shi'a. He appears *Ikd* 269 (=Isfr. 15<sup>a</sup>) as a bitter enemy of the Rawâfi'd. But the utterances put into his mouth are no doubt spurious. [See Index s.v. ash-Sha‘bî.]

— L. 4. Khâlid al-Kâsri (Kâsra, a clan of the Bajîla) was executed in the year 126 by his successor in the governorship of Kufa, Yûsuf b. ‘Omar ath-Thâkafî, in a most barbarous manner. See on Khâlid, IKhall. No. 212; IKot. 203; *Agh.* XIX, 53 ff.; Flügel, Mani 320–322. He frequently appears in our text as a relentless persecutor of heretics. But the motive for his attitude was evidently not religious zeal but loyalty to the Omeyyad dynasty, which was threatened by these heresies. His own orthodoxy was of a rather problematic nature. He was a

powerful protector of the Manichaeans (Flügel, *Mani*, p. 105), [60] and his mother was a Christian. His achievements in the extermination of heretics were rewarded by a hadith in which the Prophet announces to his ancestor Asad b. Kurz that Islam will be victorious through his descendants, Goldziher, *Muh. St.* 5 II, 45 f.

— L. 6. I find no reference bearing on Bekr, except the notice Bagd. 97<sup>a</sup> فلما مات جابر أدعى بكر الأعور الْجَبَرِيَّ :  
 القَتَّات وصيَّة جابرٍ اليه ورَعِمَ انه لا يموت<sup>۱</sup> وأكل بذلك أموال  
 المغيرة علَى وجه الشَّرِيَّة منهم فلما مات بكر علموا انه كان  
 كاذبًا في دعوه فلعنوه.

— L. 10. On Muhammed see Text 43. I have not been able to fix the date of his birth and cannot therefore confirm the statement preserved in L. Br. (note 5). Bagd. 17<sup>b</sup> and more elaborately 96<sup>a</sup> reports that after Muhammed's death the 15 Muğíriyya claimed that a devil was executed in his stead (comp. p. 30<sup>12</sup>) and that he himself was hidden in Hâjir, in the mountains of Radwa (Text 43 n. 7). They also believed that Muhammed would bring to life seventeen men whom he would endow with the seventeen letters of the “Greatest Name”, so as to enable 20 them to perform miracles (see p. 82). They adduced in proof of his Imamate his identity in name and father's name with that of the Prophet (comp. p. 53<sup>17</sup>).<sup>2</sup>

The Muğíriyya referred to here are, of course, the *followers* of Muğíra, not Muğíra himself, who died (anno 119) 26 years 25 before Muhammed (145). Bagd. reports the same beliefs in the name of Jâbir al-Ju‘fî.

— L. 12. On the sanctity with which water is invested among the Mandæans and which is no doubt of old Babylonian

<sup>1</sup> See for a similar claim p. 113<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Isfr. 12<sup>a</sup> gives a similar account which is extracted by Haarbrücker II, 412.—It is remarkable that Iji 344 mentions as the Imam of the Muğíriyya not Muhammed but a man named زكريا بن محمد بن علي، who is otherwise utterly unknown (Ibidem read حاجز instead of حاجر).

[60] origin, see Brandt, *Mandäische Religion* 68, note 2 and 69, Kessler, "Über Gnosis und altbabylonische Religion" (*Abhandlungen des 5. Orientalistencongresses*, Berlin 1882), p. 300.

— L. 16. The name of this sectarian appears in the form <sup>5</sup> بَنَان and بَيَان. Ed. as well as Codd. have indiscriminately both (comp., e. g., Ed. I, 112 ult. and Text 34 note 8). The general form, however, is بَنَان. It is found Shahr. 113 (Haarbrücker 171: Bunân; Barbier de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique* 1874 p. 169: Bennân), Kashi (consistently, e. g., 188<sup>1</sup>, 195<sup>11, 16</sup> 10 196<sup>10</sup> etc.); Iji 344 (also quoted in *Dictionary of Technical Terms* sub voce); *Mirza* repeatedly; *Lubb al-Lubâb* s.v. <sup>البناني</sup> (see Appendix s.v. <sup>البيان</sup> where the editor argues against the form <sup>بيان</sup>). In spite of this consensus, the only correct form, as is apparent from the application of the name p. 61, l. 17, also <sup>15</sup> Bagd. 95<sup>b, 1</sup> is <sup>بيان</sup>.

On Bayân's teachings see Makr. 349<sup>1</sup>, 352<sup>2</sup>; Bagd. 12<sup>a</sup>, 91<sup>a</sup>, very elaborately 95<sup>a</sup>; Isfr. 56<sup>a</sup>. Most writers ascribe to him the same doctrines as to Mugîra. According to Kashi 196, he believed, on the basis of Koran 43, 84, that the God of Heaven <sup>20</sup> and the God of Earth are two different beings. For a similar doctrine see later p. 127<sup>12, 2</sup>.

— L. 17 ff. The following story is given Tab. II, 1620 (anno 119)=IAth. V, 154 in a different presentation.

[61] 61, l. 12 f. Ibn Hazm "most emphatically insists on the <sup>25</sup> uncorporeality of God and violently rejects the (Divine) attributes," Kremer, *Ideen* p. 39.

— L. 16. For a very similar example see Text 62, l. 4. I. H. (Ed. IV, 198<sup>18</sup>) reports that Ahmad b. Yârush (Ed. has سَابُوس, see p. 10<sup>20</sup>) "pretended to be a prophet, maintaining that it was <sup>30</sup> he who was meant by the saying of Allah (Koran 61, 6): 'Announcing an apostle who will come after me, whose name will be Ahmad.'"

<sup>1</sup> Whether the application is historically true or not, makes no difference.

<sup>2</sup> ابن وكيع <sup>البناني</sup> who is mentioned *Fîhr.* 180<sup>8</sup> among the متكلمي المحبّة has certainly nothing to do with Bayân, as is assumed by the editors in note 5.

— L. 18. Abû Hâshim died in Humeima (Palestine) in 78 [61] or 79, Nawawî, *Tahdîb* 369; van Vloten, *Chiitisme* 45. On his alleged concession of the Imamate to the Abbassides see Tab. III, 24, 2500; IKhald. I, 360. Van Vloten (ib. 44) is inclined to ascribe to the Hâshimiyya the initiative to a systematic Shiitic <sup>5</sup> propaganda. However this may be, certain it is that Abû Hâshim, who left no children,<sup>1</sup> presents a turning point in the development of Zeiditic or anti-legitimistic Shiism, in the same way as does Ja'far as-Sâdîk, on account of his numerous children, in the history of Imamitic or legitimistic Shiism. <sup>10</sup>

— Note 17. This addition is in keeping with the Zeiditic principle which demands the personal qualification of the Imam, see Text 75, 1. 9.

62, 1. 1. On Abû Mansûr see IKot. 300; *Ikd* 267; Shahr. [62] 135 f.; Iji 344; Makr. 353<sup>17</sup>; Bagd. 91<sup>a</sup>, 97<sup>b</sup>; Isfr. 56<sup>b</sup>; particu-<sup>15</sup> larly van Vloten, *Worgers* 58. The appellation al-Mustanîr, which is not quite clear, does not occur in the other sources. His nickname “al-Kîsf” is explained Shahr. 136 in connection with his assumption that he was lifted up to heaven, then hurled downwards and thus became “a fragment falling down from <sup>20</sup> heaven.” According to *Ikd* and *Shahr.* 136<sup>2</sup> (the later in contradiction with himself), Abû Mansûr applied this designation to Ali.

— L. 2. Abû Mansûr was by descent (note 3) a member of the ‘Ijl to which Muğîra attached himself as maula (Text 59<sup>2</sup>). <sup>25</sup> Interesting in this connection is the remark of Ibn Fâkih (ed.

وكان منهم أبو منصور الحنّاك وكان يتوّلى: “سبعةً اذبياءً من بنى قريش وسبعةً من بنى عجّل” (de Goeje), p. 185<sup>18</sup>: “To these (the inhabitants of Kufa who pretended to be prophets) belonged Abû Mansûr the Strangler (see later, p. 92). He chose for his <sup>30</sup> friends (?) seven prophets out of the Banû Kureish and seven out of the Banû ‘Ijl.” Comp. van Vloten, *Worgers* 58. On the Banû Ijl, see p. 80, note 4. This remark alludes perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Gen. Leyd., which enumerates only the Alides who left offspring, does not enumerate Abu Hâshim among the children of Ibn al-Hanafîyya.

<sup>2</sup> Or “favored.” The meaning of تَوْلِي is not quite clear. See, however, next note.

[62] to the Karmatian theory of the seven prophets and their substitutes (cf. p. 79<sup>o</sup>).<sup>1</sup> The significant passage Kashi 187 (parallel 195) may bear some relation to the subject in question. Ja‘far as-Ṣâdîk makes the following statement: “Allah revealed in the Koran seven (pseudo-prophets?) with their names. The Kureish, however, struck out six and left only Abû Lahab.” When subsequently asked about the saying of Allah (Koran 26, 221–222): “Shall I inform you of those on whom the Satans have descended? Descended they have on every sinful liar,” he replied: “They are seven: al-Muġîra b. Sa‘îd, Bunân (see p. 88<sup>o</sup>), Sâ‘îd an-Nahdî, al-Ḥârîth ash-Shâ‘mî, ‘Abdallah b. al-Ḥârîth,<sup>2</sup> Ḥamza b. ‘Omâra az-Zubeir<sup>3</sup> and Abû'l-Khattâb (p. 112).” Abû Mansûr is not mentioned.

— L. 7. According to Makr. 478 ult., the Jewish sectarian Abû ‘Īsa al-Isbahânî similarly claimed “that he was lifted up to heaven and the Lord patted him on his head.” The early Jewish sects under Arabic dominion show a great many traces which remind one of the early Muhammedan sects, especially those of the Shi‘a.

— L. 9. Curiously enough Kashi 196 relates in the name of a man who had it from Abû Mansûr himself that God addressed the latter in *Persian* بِيَهُسْرَ.—The reading adopted in our text (note 8) is confirmed by Shahr. 136 l. 4.

— L. 10. The “Word” (Logos) is Christ, as he is often styled in Arabic. Comp. Ed. IV, 197<sup>21</sup>: Ahmad b. Ḥâ’it and Ahmad b. Yâniš, the pupils of an-Nazzâm (see p. 10 f.) “both maintained that the world had two creators: one who is eternal

<sup>1</sup> I am not certain, however, as to the meaning of the passage. تُرْكَى which is difficult (see preceding note) may signify “to become a maula”

سبْعَةُ أَنْبِيَاءٍ . . . (see Dozy s.v.). Then the nominative ought to be read: . . .

<sup>2</sup> سَبْعَةٌ وَسَبْعَةٌ and the meaning would be the following: Among the pseudo-prophets in Kufa seven attached themselves as maulas to the Kureish and seven to the Ijl. The number seven is in any case noteworthy and hardly accidental. See the Index to this treatise s.v. Seven.

<sup>2</sup> P. 195 عبد الله بن عمرو بن الحُرث See p. 124<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Var. on the margin 195<sup>11</sup>; البريدى 197<sup>8</sup>; البريدى

and this is Allah, and the other one who is created and this is [62] the Word of Allah (كلمة الله), Jesus Christ (المسيح عيسى), the son of Maryam, through whom he created the world." This distinctly points to Christian influence, whether directly (see the quotation from Bagd. in the next note) or through some <sup>5</sup> gnostic medium, must be left open.

— L. 11. According to Shahr. 134, Muğîra b. Sa'îd (p. 79 ff.) similarly believed that the shadows of Muhammed and Ali (Bagd. 95<sup>b</sup> mentions the shadow of Muhammed only) were created first. Comp. preceding note. This doctrine is called<sup>10</sup> "tafwîd" and is quoted alongside of "guluww" (Tusy, very frequently, e. g., Nos. 281, 417, 415, 455 speaks instead of **الغلو والتخليط**). IBab., *I'tikadat* 24<sup>a</sup> has a special chapter **في دروی عن زرارة الله**: He defines it as follows:

قال قلت للصادق عليه السلام ان رجلاً من ولد عبد الله بن سبأ يقول بالتفويض قال وما التفويض قلت يقول ان الله عز وجل خلق محمداً وعلياً ثم فوض الامر اليهما فخلقا ورزقا وأحيانا وأمامانا فقال كذب عدو الله.

Bagd. 98<sup>b</sup> states the matter more accurately: **واما المفوضة من** <sup>20</sup> **الرافضة** **فقوم** زعموا ان الله تعالى خلق محمداً ثم فوض اليه تدبیر العالم وتقديره فهو الذى خلق العالم دون الله تعالى ثم فوض محمد تدبیر العالم الى علي بن ابي طالب فهو **المدبر الثالث**.—Masudi III, 266 calls Ahmad b. Hâ'it and Ahmad b. Yâñûsh (see preceding page) "الادherents of **"Tafwîd"** and **Mediators (between 25 God and the world)**."

<sup>1</sup> On Zurâra b. A'yun (died 150) see Tusy 141 ff. He was a favorite of Ja'far aş-Sâdiq, Fihr. 220. (See also Index to this treatise sub voce Zurâra.)

<sup>2</sup> See p. 19. **ولد** apparently stands here for "adherent."

[62] At the bottom of this idea lies the Gnostic discrimination between the “unorigined, inconceivable Father” and the Word (Logos) emanating from him which is the Demiurge; see preceding note and p. 82<sup>1</sup> ff. See also later, p. 127.

5 — L. 12 f. Comp. Ed. I, 77<sup>11</sup>. Shahr. 136<sup>5</sup> expresses it negatively وَعَمْ أَيْضًا أَنَّ الرَّسُولَ لَا تَنْقَطِعُ أَبَدًا وَالرِّسَالَةُ لَا تَنْقَطِعُ This doctrine is probably the reflection of the Clementine conception of the True Prophet, see p. 85<sup>22</sup>. It contradicts both Koran and Sunna, which equally insist that Muhammed is the last prophet (p. 76<sup>38</sup>).

— L. 15. The same is reported of the Khattâbiyya, p. 14.

— L. 18 ff. Ibn Fâkih (ed. de Goeje) 185<sup>15</sup> speaks of “Abû Mansûr the Strangler.” IKot. 300 says briefly: “to them (the Mansûriyya) belong the Stranglers.” Shahr. 136<sup>9</sup> says less distinctly: “his (Abû Mansûr’s) adherents thought it permissible to kill their opponents and take away their property.” Assassination is designated as a peculiarity of the Mugîriyya and Mansûriyya (see Index *sub voce* Terrorism). Jâhîz in his *Kitâb al-Hayawân* gives an account of the manners of these 20 terrorists of the eighth century. He who practised both “strangling” and “skull-breaking” was styled “Jâmi‘,” “Combiner.” This extremely curious and interesting passage is reproduced and discussed by van Volten, *Worgers in Iraq* (in a Dutch article. See List of Cited Works *sub voce* van Vloten, 25 *Worgers*). The Thugs in India, whose beginnings date as far back as the first Muhammedan caliphs, also kill their victims by strangling.

The theological substructure for this peculiar tenet is supplied by I. H., Ed. IV, 171<sup>11</sup>: “The command to do right and 30 the prohibition to do wrong<sup>1</sup> must be carried out with the heart and, if possible, with the tongue. It must not be executed by (employing) the hand nor in any way by drawing the sword or using arms . . . All the Rawâfiḍ hold to it, though they all be killed (see the reading of L. Br., Text 63, note 1). But they 35 believe in it only as long as the “Speaking” (Imam)<sup>2</sup> does not come forth. When he does come forth, then the drawing of swords becomes obligatory. If not, then it is not (obligatory) . .

<sup>1</sup> Koran 3, 100, 106, 110; 7, 156, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the Bâṭiniyya, p. 112 n. 3.

Certain sections of the Sunnites, all the Mu'tazilites, all the [62] Khawârij and Zeidiyya (comp. Text p. 75<sup>o</sup>) are of the opinion that with reference to the command to do right and the prohibition to do wrong, the drawing of swords is obligatory, since the repulsion of wrong is impossible without it." See following <sup>5</sup> note.

63, l. 1 and note 1. The Khashabiyya are connected with [63] the Keisâniyya (*ib.* note 1) and originated simultaneously with them in the uprising of al-Mukhtâr. IKot. 300 thus explains the name: "the Khashabiyya of the Rawâfid: Ibrâhîm b. al-Ashtar <sup>10</sup> encountered 'Obeidallah b. Ziyâd. The majority of Ibrâhîm's followers were carrying with them wooden arms (al-khashab). They were, in consequence, called the Khashabiyya."<sup>1</sup> Masudi V, 226 (anno 67) relates that al-Mukhtâr "began to go forth every day to fight Muṣ'ab and those that followed him of the people <sup>15</sup> of Kufa. Al-Mukhtâr (on the other hand) had with him many people of the Shi'a. They were called the Khashabiyya (belonging) to the Keisâniyya." Comp. also the notice *Agh.* VI, 139 (=Tab. II, 1798<sup>4</sup>): "Othman al-Khashabî belonged to the Khashabiyya who were with al-Mukhtâr." When Muhallab, <sup>20</sup> who fought against al-Mukhtâr, was besieging the city of Nisibis which was defended by the Khashabiyya, he thus addressed himself to the inhabitants: "O ye people! Let not these men frighten you. They are only slaves and have in their hands (nothing but) sticks." (*Agh.* V, 155; comp. Tab. II, 684<sup>16</sup>)<sup>25</sup> These sticks were designated by a Persian word as كافر كوبات "the heretic knockers," a name which is characteristic of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ikd* 269: "To the Râfiqa (also belonged) the Huseiniyya. They consisted of the adherents of Ibrâhîm al-Ashtar. They used to march through the lanes of Kufa at night-time and shout: 'Revenge for al-Husein!' Hence they were called the Huseiniyya." Instead of

الحسينية is most probably to be read الحشيبة (see later). It seems, however, that this reading is not a scribal error but due to the author (or his source) who, neglecting the important detail that they were carrying wooden arms (khashab), brought the name into connection with the war-cry of the party ("Revenge for al-Husein!").

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Abu'l-Maali 157  
الحسينية اصحاب صرحت الطبرى وقت خروج سلاح ایشان از چوب بود  
صرحت الطبرى—I have not found this elsewhere.

[63] part played by the Persian element in al-Mukhtâr's rebellion. Thus Tab. II, 694<sup>15</sup> (anno 66) relates that the Khashabiyya who arrived in Mekka to liberate Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya (comp. 693<sup>4</sup>) entered the Holy Mosque, carrying with them the 5 "heretic knockers" and shouting: "On to the revenge for al-Husein!"<sup>1</sup> The Kâfir-kûbât occur also later in the rebellion of Abû Muslim (see the quotation in de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geogr. Arabic.* IV, 278) and as late as anno 257 (IAth. VII, 99<sup>6</sup>).<sup>2</sup>

10 The name Khashabiyya, it seems, never came into general use. It is often written حبشية and, in consequence of the war cry of this party (revenge for *al-Husein!*!), also حسنية; see the variants in Tab., van Vloten, *Worgers*, and *Ikd* (Comm. 93, n. 1).

15 Originally the name was probably meant to convey a social contrast. It indicated the Mawâli as "men of the sticks," that is, as poor devils who could not afford to equip themselves with proper arms (Wellhausen, *Opp.* 80). But it seems that this social aspect of the name was early forgotten and the name 20 assumed a religious coloring. It is frequently used to designate the Keisâniyya. Thus *Agh.* XI, 47: "It was Khindif al-Asadî (cf. Comm. 42<sup>5</sup>, where "Khandak" is incorrect) who converted Kuthayyir to the Khashabiyya doctrine (مذعوب الحشبية)." Kuthayyir was a typical representative of the 25 Keisâniyya.

This peculiar idea which makes the use of arms dependent on the arrival of the Mahdi stands in a remarkable contrast to the Messianic conception of the Prophets (Is. 2, 4; Micah 4, 3). Perhaps it reflects the Messianic belief of post-biblical Judaism 30 (adopted also by orthodox Islam), according to which the arrival

<sup>1</sup> The same IAth. IV, 207, where the variant  **ومعهم الكافر كوبات** is to be preferred. IAth. denies that the poor equipment gave rise to the name. He gives a different interpretation to the incident. "They were called Khashabiyyâ, because on entering Mekka they carried sticks, being reluctant to display swords in the Holy District." Tab. however, (II, 695<sup>8</sup>) reports that they threatened Ibn az-Zubeir with their swords.

<sup>2</sup> De Goeje in the glossary to *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ibidem, maintains that the word is an anachronism at so early a period as al-Mukhtâr. But the general rôle of the Persian element in that movement and the passage in Tab. confirm the genuineness of the name.

of the Messiah will be connected with a series of bloody wars. [63] At any rate, among the parallels between the Jews and the Rawâfiḍ put into the mouth of ash-Sha'bî (*Ikd* 269, Comm. p. 19<sup>18</sup>) appears also the following comparison: “The Jews say, there shall be no fighting for the sake of God until the Messiah, the Expected <sup>5</sup> One, goes forth and a herald from heaven proclaims (his arrival). The Râfiḍa say, there is no fighting for the sake of Allah until the Mahdi goes forth and a rope<sup>1</sup> descends from heaven.”

In view of the religious character assigned to the use of wooden weapons, we may, with all due reserve, call attention to the utter-<sup>10</sup> ance of Ibn Sabâ recorded by Jâhîz (Comm. 43<sup>19</sup>) that Ali “would not die till he would drive you *with his stick*,” the more so, as, quite independently of Jâhîz, Zeid. (Comm. 42<sup>20</sup>) reports the same form of the Shiitic belief “that Ali is alive and has not died, but will drive the Arabs and Persians *with his stick*.<sup>2</sup>”<sup>15</sup> Perhaps it is not accidental that Kuthayyir, who was a Khashabî (see before) and had just returned from a visit to the neighborhood of ar-Râdwa, which in the belief of the Keisâniyya was the hiding place of Muhammed b. al-Hanâfiyya, “appeared before us *leaning on a stick*” (*Agh.* VIII, 33).<sup>20</sup>

— L. 2. On Hishâm and his book see Text 74<sup>22</sup> and Comm. 65 ff.

— L. 6. Extremely remarkable is the statement that these adepts of Terror did not even spare one another. But the reason given for it and the solemn assurance of Hishâm’s trust-<sup>25</sup> worthiness leave no doubt as to the meaning of the passage.

— L. 8. It is, of course, the fifth of the spoil originally to be delivered to the Prophet, Koran VIII, 42. The Karmatian leader Abû Tâhir and his successors still were in the habit of delivering this tax to ‘Ubeidallah, whom they considered their<sup>30</sup> Imam, de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 82.

64, l. 4. Most sources quoted p. 89<sup>14</sup> f. state that Abû Man-<sup>[64]</sup> sîr laid claim to the Imamate only when Muhammed b. Ali (al-Bâkir) had died (in 117).

— L. 6. On Bâzîg see Shahr. 137; Iji 346; Makr. 352<sup>10</sup>.<sup>35</sup> His name appears among those of other sectarians Kashi 196,

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<sup>1</sup> سبب سبب؟ وينزل؟ “Rope” gives no sense. Perhaps سبب has here the meaning recorded Dozy s.v.: “*Introducteur*,” the person who introduces one to the Caliph: The herald announcing the arrival of the Mahdi?

<sup>2</sup> See on this passage p. 25 n. 2.

[64] 197. 196: (sic) 197: Ja'far aş-

المغيرة بن سعيد وبزيعا (sic) والسرى وابا الخطاب Sâdîk curses وابا الخطاب وعمر (sic) وابو (sic) بشار الاشعري وحمرة اليزيدى وصايدى النهدي. On some of these heretics see Comm. p. 90<sup>10</sup> and Index.

<sup>5</sup> When Ja'far was told that Bazig had been killed, he exclaimed: "Praise be unto Allah! There is surely nothing better for these Muġiriyya (read المغيرة instead of المغيرة) than to be killed, for they will never repent." (Kashi 197.)

On the variants of the name see Text here note 8 and 34 n. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. I, 112 ult. reads بزيع. Shahr. ascribes to him the interesting view that a man who has attained to perfection cannot be said to have died.<sup>1</sup> Probably in connection with this belief he claimed that the best among his adherents had been raised to the dignity of angels, Iji. His profession is mentioned only here and Ed. I, 112 ult. The weaver's trade was considered highly degrading, see Ferazdak ed. Boucher 211<sup>10</sup> f.; Wellhausen, *Opp.* 62 n. 3. The same view is held by the Rabbis. Tosefta 'Eduyoth I, 2 it is designated as the lowest trade in the world.

<sup>20</sup> — Note 10. See p. 55<sup>16</sup>.

— L. 9. Mu'ammar appears again Text 69<sup>14</sup>. For this reason the reading of L. Br. (note 11) seems preferable. On Sarî al-Aksam (with broken front teeth) I have found nothing except the bare mention of his name Kashi 196, 197 (see this page 25 l. 1 f.). In his stead the other sources énumerate as one of the

sects of the Khaṭṭâbiyya, Shahr. 137 and others.

— L. 10. 'Omeir at-Tabbân is no doubt identical with عمر بن بیان al-جھلی Bagd. 98<sup>a</sup>; Isfr. 58<sup>a</sup>; Makr. 352<sup>12</sup>; Shahr. 137; Iji 346 (the latter instead of بنان, comp. p. 88<sup>5</sup>). Most probably (بن بنان or) بن بیان is only another reading for التَّبَان which is confirmed by the alchemistic utterance l. 12–13,

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Text 69<sup>11</sup>, Comm. 72<sup>31</sup>, 113<sup>30</sup>.

not recorded elsewhere. Note the expression “*this straw.*” [64] That he was an ‘Ijlite is significant in view of p. 79<sup>34</sup> ff.— According to Makr., the ‘Omeiriyya erected a special tent in Kufa for the worship of Ja‘far as-Sâdîk, see later p. 107.

65, l. 1. This contradicts Shahr.’s and Makr.’s statement <sup>5</sup> that he was killed by Yazîd b. ‘Omar b. Hubeira (Makr. مُبَرِّجْ يَزِيدْ بْنُ عَمَيْرْ), the governor of ‘Irâk under al-Mansûr.

— L. 3. The same number is recorded in the other sources. There is, however, a difference as regards the sects which constitute this number. I. H. apparently counts as follows: <sup>10</sup> 1) Mügîra, 2) Abû Manṣûr, 3) Baziğ, 4) Mu‘ammar or, perhaps more correctly, Sarî (p. 96<sup>23</sup>), 5) ‘Omeir. The other writers, including Bagd. and Isfr., count the Mügîriyya and Manṣûriyya apart and enumerate as the five sects of the Khaṭṭâbiyya: 1) the Khaṭṭâbiyya proper, then the followers of 2) Baziğ, <sup>15</sup> 3) Mu‘ammar, 4) Mufaddal (p. 96<sup>24</sup>) and 5) ‘Omeir.

— Note 2. The notice, preserved only in L. Br., refers to the event related Tab. III, 221<sup>713</sup> ff. (anno 289). The Karmatian missionary Zikrweih b. Mihrweih endeavors to win over the Kelbites. He sends to them his son Yahya. But no one <sup>20</sup> joined him “except the clan known as the Banû l-‘Uleis<sup>1</sup> b. Damdam<sup>2</sup> b. ‘Adî b. Janâb<sup>3</sup> and their clients. They swore allegiance towards the end of 289 . . . to Zikrweih’s son whose name was Yahya and whose Kunya Abû l-Kâsim.” Comp. de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 48; Istakhrî 23<sup>2</sup>=IHaukal 29<sup>19</sup>; de Sacy 25 ccii; *Fihr.* 187 n. 10.—Yahya pretended to be a certain well-known Alide. But it is not settled which Alide he tried to impersonate.—Tuğj (l. 5 of note 2) was the governor of Damascus. I connect this sentence with the notice Tab. III, 221<sup>911</sup>: “The cause of his (Yahya’s) death, according to some reports, <sup>30</sup> was that one of the Berbers struck him with a short spear<sup>4</sup> and a torch bearer<sup>5</sup> followed him who threw fire at him and burned

<sup>1</sup> IAth. VII, 353 reads قَلِيمَصْ; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 506, Kaliss.

<sup>2</sup> See the variants Tab. ib.

<sup>3</sup> IAth. خَبَابْ, comp. the reading of L.—Janâb, Wüstenfeld, Tabellen 2<sup>26</sup>.—On ‘Adî b. Janâb see Wüstenfeld, *Register* p. 266, *Lubb al-Lubâb* s.v. العَدَوَى.

<sup>4</sup> See Glossary to Tab. s.v. مِزْرَاقْ.

<sup>5</sup> See *ib.* s.v. نَفَاطْ.

[65] him." The construction **من طفح** is rather hard, for it is scarcely probable that it stands here, as it often does in later Arabic, as the exponent of the passive and signifies (burned) *by* Tugj. Read **مع** (in his encounter) *with* Tugj?

<sup>5</sup> — Note 2, l. 10. On the Zenj see Tab. III, 1742 ff. (anno 255); Kremer, *Ideen* 195 f., 386. A graphic account of this movement is given by Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 146 ff. Opinions differ as to the person of the Alide he pretended to represent, comp. Masudi VIII, 31; Tab. 1742<sup>11</sup>, 1743, 1746<sup>12</sup>. IKhald. I, 361 summarily states that he traced back his origin to 'Isa b. Zeid, the son of Zeid b. 'Alî, the founder of the Zeidiyya.

— L. 4. The reading of Ed. Y. (note 3) is correct (Goldzihier). 'Ihen "those" would not refer to the Khaṭṭâbiyya mentioned immediately before, as they are not connected with the Abbassides, but in general to those "who admit prophecy after the Prophet," p. 56<sup>1</sup>.

— L. 6. The reading of L. Br. (note 4) stands quite isolated. The correct pronunciation is Khidâsh; see *Tâj al-'Arûs* sub hac

<sup>20</sup> وَخِدَاشْ كِتَابَ اسْمَ رَجُلٍ وَهُوَ مِنْ قَوْلَهُمْ خَادَشْتُ الرَّجُلَ voce:

اذَا خَدَشَتْ وَجْهَهُ وَخَدَشَ هُوَ وَجْهَكَ. Comp. van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, p. 49: "Khidache (de la racine Khadacha 'déchirer avec les ongles,' puisqu'il déchira la religion)." Kremer, *Ideen* p. 11, who quotes I. H., writes incorrectly "Chaddâsch." — <sup>25</sup> 'Ammâr was executed in a most barbarous manner by Asad b. 'Abdallah in the year 118, Tab. II, 1588<sup>13</sup>. This 'Ammâr is not, at least is not meant to be, identical with 'Ammâr al-'Ibâdî who was also a missionary of the Abbassides and was similarly killed by Asad in 108, Tab. II, 1492.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>30</sup> — L. 12. On 'Abdallah b. Sabâ see p. 18 f.

— L. 13 ff. The incident is reported in all sources, see the quotations later. Kashi offers several details which are not recorded elsewhere. They numbered ten persons and were

<sup>1</sup> The latter passage strangely contradicts Tab.'s account, p. 1488 (anno 107), according to which 'Ammâr alone saved himself, while the others perished.

standing at the gate. When they had been let in to Ali, they [65] said to him: "We maintain that thou art our Lord and that thou art he who created us and who gives us sustenance" (Kashi 48, parallel p. 198). According to another version (p. 72), they were seventy gypsies (البَزَّاطَةَ). The tendency of all these stories is plain: 5 they are intended as a protest against the later "Exaggerators" by showing that Ali himself rejected them. It can be easily understood why the orthodox Shiites who were often made responsible for the extravagance of the Ḡulāt were so very anxious to circulate these stories condemning the Ḡulāt. 10

66, l. 1 f. "Thou art Allah"; also Makr. 352<sup>a</sup>; Iji 343 with- [66] out the preliminary "Thou art He" (l. 1); Kashi 70, انت هو 70; انت انت هو 72; Shahr. 132 more pointedly "Thou art Thou," which reminds one somewhat of the Hindoo "Tat twam asi." 15

— L. 5. The same Isfr. 54<sup>a</sup>: <sup>وَ</sup>الآن علِمْنَا عَلَى الْحَقِيقَةِ أَنَّهُ إِلَهٌ  
لَأَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ لَا يَعْدِبُ بِالنَّارِ إِلَّا رَبُّ النَّارِ.  
— L. 7. The verse is also quoted Kashi 48 and with variants 49.—Bagd. 94<sup>a</sup> (similarly Isfr. 55<sup>b</sup>) quotes another *locus probans* and gives a somewhat different version of this auto-20 da-fé: عبد الله بن سبا الذي غلا في على رضي الله عنه ورعم انه كان نبيا ثم غلا فيه حتى زعم انه إله ودعا إلى ذلك قوما من غواة الكوفة ورفع خبرهم إلى على رضي الله عنه فامر بإحراق قوم منهم في حفرتين حتى قال بعض الشعرا في ذلك [الوافر] 25

لِتَرْمِ بِي الْحَوَادِثُ حَيْثُ شَاءْتُ \* اَذَا لَمْ تَرْمِ بِي فِي الْحُفْرَتَيْنِ

According to Kashi 72, Ali killed the seventy gypsies (see before) in a most ingenious manner by throwing them into a number of pits which were connected through holes. Then the pits were closed and smoke was let in through one of them, so 30 that they were all choked.

— L. 10. Kanbar is designated as a servant (خادم) of Ali, *Tahdīb* 514; *Tab.* I, 3257 (غلام). He acts as such Kashi 48,

[66] 198. *Tâj al-‘Arâs* sub voce *قنب*, and *Suyutî*, *Tarîkh* 159, call him a *maula* of Ali. He was wounded in the attack on Othman, Tab., ib.; *Suyuti*, ib.

—L. 11. All the authorities quoted throughout this treatise and a great many other writers equally attest that Ali burned some of those who held “exaggerated” notions about him. Most of them connect these “exaggerators” with Abdallah b. Sabâ.<sup>1</sup> In spite of this consensus of opinion, the historical character of this narrative is more than doubtful. The historians proper (Tabari, Masudi, IAth. and the minor ones) are silent on this point. The fact of an auto-da-fé at so early a period is in itself extremely unlikely. The tendency of the story is unmistakable (see p. 99<sup>o</sup>), and the way it is connected with Ibn Sabâ is satisfactorily explained when we remember the peculiar rôle assigned to this man and his sect by the Muhammedan theologians. Being a Jew, Ibn Sabâ was made the scapegoat for all the subsequent heresies in Islam. The name Sabâ’iyya became synonymous with radical heresy and was applied to heretics who lived long after ‘Abdallah b. Sabâ.<sup>2</sup> Shahr.’s account on Ibn Sabâ is almost entirely a projection of later doctrines on the founder of Shiism. It is therefore natural that he should figure in an execution of heretics by Ali.

I regard this story as an anticipation of the frequent executions of Shiitic sectarians by Khâlid al-Kasrî and his successor 25 Yûsuf b. ‘Omar. *Ikd* 267 characteristically, though unconsciously, states this relation: “al-Muğîra b. Sa‘d (read Sa‘îd, see p. 79<sup>24</sup>) was one of the Sabâ’iyya whom Ali burned at the stake.” Muğîra, however, was burned by Khâlid as late as 119. Similarly IKot. 300, who mentions Muğîra immediately after 30 ‘Abdallah b. Sabâ and designates him as a Sabâ’î.

A striking parallel to our incident and perhaps its prototype is Tab.’s account (III, 418) on the Râwandiyya who worshipped the Caliph al-Mansûr. “They came forward shouting to Abû

<sup>1</sup> See, e. g., IKot. 300; Ikd 267. According to Kashi 70, Ali burned ‘Abdallah himself. This, however, is contradicted by all other sources as well as by the facts, see p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Thus al-Kelbî (died 146) is designated as an adherent (صاحب) of Ibn Sabâ, IKhall. No. 645, p. 26. See *Comm.* 25<sup>11</sup>. The same is the case with Muğîra (d. 119), see this page 1. 30. Cf. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 12 n. 1.

Ja‘far (al-Mansûr): ‘Thou art Thou!’ (The narrator) says: [66] he (al-Mansûr) himself came out against them and fought them. While they were fighting, they came forward crying: ‘Thou art Thou!’” The origin of the Râwandiyya which points to Khorâsân (see p. 123<sup>1</sup>) and the time to which the incident is assigned strongly support the historicity of Tab.’s account. <sup>5</sup>

— L. 15 f. The temptation of Jesus consisted in the “guluww” of the Apostles, i. e., in their belief in his divinity (comp. p. 16<sup>21</sup>). The Prophet himself is reported to have compared Ali with Jesus who fell a victim to the love of the Christians and the hatred of the Jews (ZDMG. 38, 391). “As for the Râfîda, they strongly exaggerate concerning Ali; some of them follow the doctrines of the Christians concerning Christ. They are the Sabâ’iyya, the followers of ‘Abdallah b. Sabâ, Allah’s curse on them.” (*Ikd* 267).<sup>2</sup> More thoughtfully <sup>15</sup> is this relation between the Ultra-Shiitic and the Christian doctrines stated by IKhald. I, 358: “The Ǧulât have transgressed the limits of reason and religion by assuming the divinity of these Imams. As for Ali, he (read فَاتَهُ) is (considered by them) a human being which has assumed the attributes of the Deity and (they believe) that God has embodied himself in his human (corporeal) essence. This is the doctrine of Incarnation which corresponds to the teachings of the Christians concerning Jesus.”

— L. 17. The sect named in the following is considered an <sup>25</sup> outgrowth of the Sabâ’iyya because it shares with the latter the deification of Ali. The Sabâ’iyya is the Alidic sect *κατ’ ἔξοχήν*. Cf. Text 45<sup>1</sup> f., 65<sup>11</sup> f.

— L. 18. Apart from علیانیّة, the readings علیانیّة and علیانیّة are frequently found, see Text n. 7, Masudi III, 265 and <sup>20</sup> the references to be quoted presently. The founder of this sect is called Makr. 353<sup>26</sup> ذراع السدوسي وقيل علیان بن ذراع السدوسي وقيل علیان بن ذراع الدسوسي. Shahr. 134, however, (sic) الأسدی

<sup>1</sup> See Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 377. The general Afshîn (under Mu’tâsim) did not interfere with the inhabitants of the province Osrushna who styled him “Khodâ” (God), Dozy, *Isl.* p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> As-Sayyid composed a poem in which he protests against calling Ali a “son of God,” ib.

[66] **وقال قوم هو الأُسديّ**.<sup>1</sup> The 'Ulyâniyya are designated as Dam-miyya ("the Blamers," Shahr., Makr.) because they blamed Muhammed for having usurped the dignity to which Ali was entitled. The 'Ulyâniyya, in particular, preferred Ali to <sup>5</sup> Muhammed, claiming that Muhammed was Ali's apostle. See also Bagd. 98<sup>b</sup>.

— L. 19. This Ishâk is most probably identical with **اسحق**

**بن محمد النخعيّ**, who frequently figures in *Agh.* as a narrator of biographical stories from the life of as-Sayyid al-<sup>10</sup> Himyârî,<sup>2</sup> e. g., VII, 2 penult., 9<sup>a</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup>, etc.<sup>3</sup>—Shahr. 133 f., Iji 21 and 348 he appears, independently of the 'Ulyâniyya, as the representative of a special sect which is called after him the Ishâkiyya and is closely related to the Nušeiriyya (p. 127<sup>19</sup>). De Sacy II, 593 quotes besides a sect called Hamrawiyya, which <sup>15</sup> he rightly connects with this Ishâk whose by-name was al-Ahmar. On his book and the following passage in general see later.<sup>4</sup>

[67] 67, l. 1 ff. The Muhammadiyya<sup>5</sup> who believe in the divinity of Muhammed are the counterpart of the 'Ulyâniyya who believe <sup>20</sup> in the divinity of Ali. The literary champions of the Muhammadiyya are al-Bhnkî and al-Fayyâd, while Ishâk b. Muhammed represents the other party. Shahr. and Makr. speak of the two sects but allusively. Thus Shahr., in speaking of the Ilbâ'iyya (= 'Ulyâniyya, see p. 101<sup>20</sup>), makes the following <sup>25</sup> remark: "Among them are such who believe in the divinity of both (Ali as well as Muhammed), but they give the preference

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 50, 120.

<sup>2</sup> Like all Râwis, his name is missing in the index of *Agh.*

<sup>3</sup> Kashi 167<sup>15</sup> quotes him as authority for an account on a discussion between the Barmekide Vizier Yaḥya b. Khâlid and Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam.

<sup>4</sup> As he appears in connection with the Keisanite as-Sayyid, we may identify him with Ishâk b. 'Omar who is mentioned *Abu 'l-Maali* 158 as the founder of the Ishâkiyya, one of the four Keisanite sects.—There is no evidence, however, for his identity with a certain Ishâk who acts in Transoxania as an agitator for Abû Muslim, *Fîhr.* 844<sup>30</sup>, as is confidently assumed p. 180 ib.

<sup>5</sup> Not to be confounded with the Muhammadiyya, as those who believe in the Imamate of Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan, Text 43<sup>1</sup> and 60<sup>10</sup>, are designated by Bagd. 17<sup>b</sup>, 97<sup>a</sup> and Isfr. 12<sup>a</sup>.

to Ali in matters divine. They are called the 'Ainiyya. [67] There are among them such who believe in the divinity of both but give the preference to Muhammed as regards divinity. They are called the Mîmiyya." 'Ain and Mîm are apparently the initials for Ali and Muhammed respectively. The name <sup>5</sup> Muhammadiyya I find only here and Masudi V, 475, VII, 118 (referring to his *Sîrâl-Hayât*), III, 265. The latter passage has an immediate bearing on our subject and is possibly the source of I. H.'s account. I reproduce the passage in translation: Certain heretics quote a poem by al-'Abbâs in confirmation of their *gulûwîw*. "This is mentioned by a number of their writers and their cleverest critics, out of the sects of the Muhammadiyya, the 'Ilbâniyya (see p. 101<sup>30</sup>) and others. One of them, Ishâk b. Muhammed an-Nakha'i, known as al-Ahmar, (did it) in his book entitled 'as-Sirât.' It is also mentioned <sup>10</sup> by al-Fayyâd b. Ali b. Muhammed b. al-Fayyâd (see Text, p. 67, note 2) in his book known as 'al-Kustâs,' in his refutation of the book 'as-Sirât.' It is further mentioned by the (man) known under the name of an-Nahkînî (?) see Text, p. 66, note 9) in his refutation of the book entitled 'as-Sirât.'<sup>20</sup> These (two men) belong to the Muhammadiyya. They refuted this book (of Ishâk) which was (written) according to the doctrine of the 'Ilbâniyya."

— L. 6. The name of the Kâtib is Ali b. Muhammed b. al-Fayyâd (note 2). I have found no reference to him elsewhere, <sup>25</sup> except 'the superscription to al-Buhturî's poem (see later).— Ishâk b. Kandâj died 279. ['Abdallah *Text* 67<sup>6</sup> is oversight.]

— L. 9. Al-Walîd b. 'Obeid at-Tâ'i al-Buhturî lived 205—284, Brockelmann I, 80. The verse quoted by I. H. is found in al-Buhturî's *Divân*, ed. Constantinople (1300<sup>h</sup>), vol. II, p. 86. <sup>30</sup>

وقال يمدح على بن محمد بن الفياض  
(another poem, I, 23 is headed وقال يمدح بن الفياض). The  
verse is the beginning of a *nasîb*.

— L. 11. Guweir is a drinking place of the Kelb between 'Irâk and Syria, Yakut III, 827. Bekrî, *Geographical Dictionary*, <sup>35</sup> ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1876/7, p. 703, pronounces the

name الغوير.

[67] — L. 16. *Abū'l-Husein al-Kāsim b. 'Abdallah* (or 'Ubeidal-lah) died during the reign of Muktafi in 291, only over thirty years old. He is described as being very bloodthirsty, *IKhall*. No. 474.—The fact recorded by I. H.—*al-Fayyād*'s execution at the hands of al-Kāsim—is not found in any other source at my disposal.

[68] 68, l. 1 f. “Adam” here apparently stands for the “original man,” the *إنسان قديم* of the Manichæans, the *אדם קדמון*<sup>10</sup> of the Cabbala, see Louis Ginzberg in *Jew. Encycl.*, vol. I, s.v. Adam Kadmon. Shahr. 114 ascribes to Bayân (p. 88<sup>11</sup>) the belief that Adam possessed a “Divine particle” which made him worthy of the worship of the angels. A similar conception—the “Divine Element” inherent in Adam as the immediate creation of God, passing through the pious descendants of Adam to Jacob and through him to the Jewish nation—is the basis of Jehuda Halevi's (twelfth century) philosophical system in his *Kusari* (Book I, § 47, 95).—From Adam to Muhammed there were seven prophets (comp. p. 127<sup>12</sup>). This number of prophets occurs very frequently in connection with Shiitic sects, see p. 89 f.; p. 79<sup>13</sup> (the Karmatians); p. 127 (the *Nuṣeiriyya*); Blochet 56 (the *Ismâ'iliyya*). The origin of this conception goes back to the Pseudo-Clementines, see p. 85<sup>14</sup> ff.

— L. 5. It is possible that here, too, the number seven is intended. Ja'far is the seventh prophet beginning with Muhammed.—Zeid. fol. 104<sup>a</sup> designates as *Rawâfiḍ* pure and simple those who pass the *Imâmate* down to Ja'far: *وصنف*<sup>15</sup>

آخر قادوا الوصيّة إلى جعفر بن محمد وزعموا ان الوصيّة انتهت اليه وهم الروافض among the Shi'a. He is called *جعفر بزرگ* “the Great Ja'far”

30 by the Persian theologians (Blochet 53, note 1) and his name permanently figures in Shiitic literature as authority for everything that bears on religious doctrine. He was also highly esteemed by the Sunna. Typical of this unique position of Ja'far is the anecdote told by Isfr. fol. 16<sup>16</sup>: حکی ائمہ (يعني لما رأوا الماجھظ يتتوسّع في التصانیف ويصنف لكل

[68] فريق<sup>1</sup> قالـت الروافـض صـنـف لـنـا كـتـابـا فـقـالـلـهـم لـسـتـأـرـي لـكـم شـبـهـةـ حـتـى اـرـتـبـهـا وـاتـصـرـفـ فـيـهـا فـقـالـلـوـلـه إـذـا دـأـبـنـا عـلـى شـيـءـ نـتـمـسـكـ بـهـ فـقـالـلـهـم لـأـرـي لـكـم وـجـهـا إـلـا أـنـكـمـ اـذـا أـرـدـقـمـ اـنـ تـقـولـونـ شـيـئـاـ قـرـعـمـونـهـ<sup>2</sup> تـقـولـونـ (sic) اـنـهـ قـوـلـ جـعـفـ الصـادـقـ لـاـ عـرـفـ لـكـمـ شـيـئـاـ قـسـنـدـوـنـ (نتـنـدـوـنـ Ms.) الـيـهـ غـيـرـ هـذـاـ الـكـلـامـ فـتـمـسـكـواـ بـجـهـلـهـمـ وـغـبـاـوـتـهـمـ بـهـذـهـ السـوـءـةـ التـيـ دـلـلـهـمـ عـلـيـهـاـ فـكـلـمـاـ أـرـادـوـاـ اـنـ يـخـتـلـقـواـ بـدـعـةـ وـيـخـتـرـصـواـ كـذـبـةـ نـسـبـوـهـاـ اـلـىـ ذـلـكـ السـيـدـ الصـادـقـ.

The purpose of this Sunnitic invention is plain. It is meant to ridicule the constant references of the Shiites to the authority<sup>10</sup> of Ja'far (see the passages in the Index to this treatise s.v. Ja'far). But it also shows the great esteem in which Ja'far was held even by the orthodox.

The knowledge of mystic lore with which the Shiites credit all their Imams is attributed in even a higher degree to Ja'far.<sup>15</sup> Zeid. 101<sup>b</sup> defines this belief in the omniscience of the Imams in the following characteristic manner: وكل من قال بجعفر من الروافض يزعم ان الامام يخلق عالماً وطبعة العلم والعلم مطبوع فيه ويزعمون ان الإمام يعلم الغيب ويعلم ما في ثخوم الأرضين السابعة السفلية وما في السماوات السابعة العليا وما في البر والبحر والليل والنهار عنده مجرّى واحداً (واحد<sup>20</sup> read.). It is interesting to note that the more moderate among the Shiites oppose this extravagant belief in Ja'far's omniscience and they quote Ja'far himself as indignantly protesting against it. When Ja'far was told that people believed that he knew<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See page 56<sup>23</sup> f.

<sup>2</sup> زعم with the by-meaning of "telling a lie," see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 51.

[68] “hidden things” (الغَيْب), he passionately exclaimed: “Praise unto Allah! Put thy hand on my head! By Allah, there is not a single hair on my body which does not stand on edge!” (Kashi 196).

5 An outgrowth of this conception is the peculiar belief in the existence of a mystic book called “Jafr” containing a record of all past and future events “from Creation to Resurrection”,<sup>1</sup> the authorship of which was assigned to Ja‘far. This mysterious volume with the mysterious name<sup>2</sup> plays an important part

10 in the development of the Shi‘a. See on this book, de Goeje, *Carmathes* 115 f., van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, 54 f., IKhald. II, 184 f.

Bagd’s remarks on the subject (fol. 99<sup>a</sup>) are worthy of reproduction:

وَمِنْ أَعْجَبِ الْأَشْيَاءِ أَنَّ الْخَطَابِيَّةَ<sup>3</sup> زَعَمَتْ أَنْ جَعْفَرًا  
الصَّادِقَ قَدْ أَوْدَعَهُمْ حِلْدًا فِيهِ عِلْمٌ كُلُّ مَا يَحْتَاجُونَ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ  
عِلْمِ الْغَيْبِ وَسَمَّوْا ذَلِكَ الْجَلْدَ جَفْرًا وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّهُ لَا يَقْرَأُ (يقرى  
15 (Ms.) ما فِيهِ إِلَّا مَنْ كَانَ مِنْهُمْ وَقَدْ ذَكَرَ ذَلِكَ هَارُونَ بْنَ سَعْدَ الْعِجَلِيِّ  
فِي شِعْرٍ وَقَالَ<sup>4</sup>  
[الطويل]

أَلَمْ تَرَأَنَ الرَّافِضِيَّينَ تَفَرَّقُتْ \* فَكُلُّهُمْ مِنْ جَعْفَرٍ قَالَ مُنْكَرًا ..  
وَمِنْ عَجَبِ لَمَّا فَضَيَّهُ حِلْدُ جَعْفَرٍ \* بَرِئَتْ إِلَى الرَّحْمَنِ مِمَّنْ تَجَعَّفَرَا

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Blochet, p. 13. There was a white and a red “Jafr,” ib.

<sup>2</sup> IKhald. II, 184 maintains that “Jafr” signifies dialectically “small” and that the book was so called because it was written on the hide of a small (young) ox. According to *Taj al-‘Arūs*, the word signifies sheep in the first few months of life. Neither explanation is in any way satisfactory. The real meaning of the word was evidently early forgotten. Van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, p. 56, note 6 is inclined to regard it as a foreign word and to connect it with Greek *γραφή*. I am rather inclined to think that Jafr is merely a variation of Ja‘far to whom it is assigned. [I have since noticed that Goldziher, *Shi‘a*, p. 456 n. 5, incidentally gives the same explanation.]

<sup>3</sup> See Text, p. 68, l. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Makr. 352<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The verses are quoted anonymously IKhall. No. 419. The authorship of Hârûn b. Sa‘d (Kashi 151, Sa‘id) is rather precarious, for it is he who is mentioned IKhald. II, 184 as the Râwi of this book. (He is designated in the same passage as the head of the Zeidiyya.)

— L. 8 ff. The episode presupposes the allegorical method [68] of Koran interpretation current in Shiitic circles which explains the religious prohibitions as the names of persons and brings all religious commands in relation to the Imam, see Text, p. 35, and Comm. p. 14<sup>10</sup> ff. It is obvious that the Hajj precept, if for no other than political reasons, had to succumb to the same allegorical transformation<sup>1</sup> and to become a mere “going to the Imam” (Text, p. 35<sup>11</sup>). Accordingly, the *Gu'lāt* of Kufa arranged a regular *hajj* to Ja'far with all due requisites, including attire and religious exclamations (*Labbaika Ja'far*, l. 10).—An interesting parallel to this story is the incident related Agh. XV, 121. The *Ja'fariyya* (as is evident from XIX, 58, identical with the *Mugīriyya*, the adherents of *Mugīra* b. *Sa'id*, Comm. p. 80) rebelled against *Khālid* b. *Abdallah al-Kaṣrī*, the *wāli* of Kufa (Comm. 79<sup>12</sup>), “and they came out in short trousers,” shouting: <sup>15</sup> “with thee (“*labbaika*”) o Ja'far! with thee, o Ja'far!” At first sight one might feel inclined to identify the two stories. But chronological considerations stand in the way of this identification. For the rebellion of *Mugīra* took place in 119 (Tab. II,

<sup>1</sup> How anxious the Shiitic leaders were to abolish the *hajj* to Mekka, the center of Sunnitic Islam, can be inferred from the pregnant utterance of *Abū Ja'far, at-Tūsī* (the author of *List of Shī'ah books*, died 459/1060) quoted by *Mirza*, fol. 65<sup>b</sup> : **وَمَنْ هَفَوْا تَهْمَمُ الْحُكْمَةَ أَنْ شَيْخَهُمْ**

ابو (ابا read) جعفر الطوسي ذكر في كتاب المطابع وغيره في ان زياره الحسين رضي الله عنه تعادل ثواب مائة ألف ذبي وانها افضل عند الله من مائة الف حج و مائة الف عمرة و مائة الف غزوه كانت مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم.

<sup>2</sup> قُبَّانٌ pl. of قُبَّان small breeches “without legs such as to conceal the anterior and posterior pudenda” (Lane), indeed a sort of sans culottes. It was the dress of the *Mawāli*, van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, p. 70, note 2.—Prof. Nöldeke is inclined to take it as the plural of قُبَّان and to translate فِي التَّبَابِيْن (== فِي سُوقِ التَّبَابِيْن) “on the market of the Strawdealers.”

[68] 1619 f.), while the story related in our text plays in the beginning of the Abbasside period. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 97, note 1 is sceptical with reference to the hajj incident told in Agh. But it is not only supported by I. H.'s account. The general character of the Ultra-Shiitic tenets makes an incident of this sort quite probable.

— L. 11. Abū Bekr Ibn ‘Ayāsh died in 193, IAth. VII, 153; Dahabī, Huffāz VI, 20.<sup>1</sup> The words كاذبٌ أَنْظَرَ إِلَيْهِمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ

I take (with a great deal of reserve) to indicate that he remembers the incident so vividly, as if it were before his eyes. Ibn ‘Ayāsh probably narrated the incident long after it passed. He died 193, while ‘Īsa b. Mūsa, who fought against the sectarians, died in 167.

— L. 17. See Comm. 19<sup>2</sup>. Muhammed b. Ismā‘il is the 15 seventh Imam beginning with Adam, de Goeje, *Carmathes* 168; comp. Comm. p. 104.

— L. 19. Al-Hasan b. Bahrām was the head of the Karmatians of Bahrein. He was killed by his servant in 301, IKhall. No. 186, p. 122; Tab. III, 2291.—The reading الجباع 20 (n. 6) is found elsewhere, see de Goeje, *Carmathes* 111, note 3.

The name al-Jannābī comes from Jannābā, a small place on the coast of the Persian Gulf, opposite the island Khārak, Yakut II, 122. IKhall. ibidem and No. 650, p. 40, maintains that Jannābā is a place near Bahrein. Yakut, however, brands 25 this assumption as a gross error.

— Note 7. The form كسر as given in Codd. does not necessarily represent the consonants KSR. The middle letter may stand for a great many combinations of consonants with diacritical points which it is impossible to make out. The man 30 himself is no doubt identical with “the Iṣbāhanian,” de Goeje, *Carmathes* 129 ff. He managed to pass as a saint in the eyes of Abū Tāhir, the son of Abū Sa‘id (see preceding note), who believed in him and paid him Divine honors. He carried him about in a tent so as to hide him from the gaze of the multi-

<sup>1</sup> IAth., who gives the exact pronunciation, has no Tashdīd. Yet, عياش is frequently found, see, e. g., Tab. III, 2508<sup>1</sup>. Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 3, writes “‘Ajāš,” the same ZDMG. 50, 492 “‘Ajjāš.”

tude (Arīb, p. 162). Ultimately, however, he was found out [68] and then killed by Abū Tāhir's sons. IAth. VIII, 263 f. places these events in 326, de Goeje in 319.—The same man is unquestionably identical with “the Iṣbāhanian,” briefly mentioned by Ibn Adharī, ed. Dozy I, 232: “Abū ‘Obeid (read Abū <sup>5</sup> Sa‘īd) al-Jannābī . . . advocated publicly adultery, unnatural vice, lying, wine drinking and the omission of prayer. Similarly to it acted the Iṣbāhanian (الاصبهانى).” Masudi, *Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, 391<sup>16</sup> describes him as “the young man (الغلام) known as az-Zakarī, one of the descendants of the Persian <sup>10</sup> kings of the lands of Iṣbāhān.” The other sources also give his first name, but in so many forms that it is impossible to make out the correct form; comp. de Goeje, *ibidem*.

— L. 20 and note 8. The man spoken of here is usually designated as Ibn Ḥaushab; comp. IKhald. II, 185.<sup>1</sup> The other <sup>15</sup> names differ widely in the various sources. The nearest to I. H. is Makr.: Abū ‘l-Kāsim al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusein) b. Faraj b. Ḥaushab al-Kūfī (de Sacy, CCLV note). IAth. VIII, 22, Abulfeda and Bibars Maṇṣūrī (quoted de Sacy, *ib.*) call him Rustem b. Ḥusein b. Ḥaushab b. Zadān (IAth. an-Najjār.<sup>20</sup> Nuweirī again (quoted de Sacy, p. CCCCXLIV) has Abū ‘l-Ḥusein Rustem b. Karhin b. Ḥaushab b. Dādān an-Najjār. Dastūr al-Munajjimīn (de Goeje, *Carmathes* 204<sup>o</sup>) gives Abū ‘l-Kāsim al-Faraj b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥaushab b. Zādān.—The reason for this vacillation lies in the fact recorded, though, it seems, no more <sup>25</sup> understood, by I. H. that he “was called al-Maṇṣūr.” Al-Maṇṣūr was the title of the Karmatian Missionary-in-chief which approached in significance that of the Mahdi.<sup>2</sup> There was a Maṇṣūr al-Bahreīn as well as a Maṇṣūr al-Yemen who is referred to here; see de Goeje *ib.*, p. 170, n. 1, 204<sup>o</sup>.—Ibn <sup>30</sup> Ḥaushab made his public appearance in Yemen in 270, de Goeje *ib.* 204<sup>o</sup>. Abū ‘Abdallah ash-Shi‘ī (p. 75<sup>10</sup>) was one of the best officers of Ibn Ḥaushab (Blochet, 70), to whom he had been sent by ‘Ubeidallah and Muhammed al-Habīb (IKhald. II, 185, in the name of Ibn ‘ar-Rakīk, d. 340/952). On the death of <sup>35</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Blochet 70 erroneously transcribes Abu'l Kasem ibn Djoushem (sic).

<sup>2</sup> On Maṇṣūr as the title of the Mahdī (Messiah) see Goldziher, ZDMG. 56, 411; van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, p. 61; de Goeje, *ib.* p. 73.

[68] Halwânî and Abû Sufyân, the Karmatian missionaries in Maghrib, Ibn Haushab dispatched him to that country (Makr. II, 10<sup>4</sup> ff., Blochet ib.).<sup>1</sup>

— Note 8, l. 3–4. ‘Ali b. al-Fadl (al-Janadî from the province Janad in Yemen, Ed. II, 38<sup>23</sup>, see Comm. p. 17<sup>2</sup>) was the Janâh (a Karmatian technical term designating a sort of aide-de-camp) of Ibn Haushab and accompanied him to Aden La‘a, de Goeje *ib.* 204<sup>7</sup>. The latter gives his name, similarly to I. H., as Ali. Otherwise he is called Muhammed, e. g., Istakhrî 24,<sup>2</sup> de Sacy cclv. Nuweirî (quoted de Sacy cccclvi) has Abû'l-Kheir Muhammed b. al-Fadl, comp. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 510, Müller, *Islam* I, 595. The Banû Ziyâd traced back their origin to Ziyâd, who pretended to be a son of Abû Sufyân and was afterwards acknowledged as brother by Mu‘awiya, IKot. 176. They were settled in Zebîd. The Du-Manâkh lived in the neighborhood of Aden, Yakut IV, 472.

— Note 8, l. 5. البواري is most probably identical with البوارى, mentioned de Sacy cxx. I quote this passage, as it is of great significance in connection with I. H.’s text. “En 20 année 295 un nouvel imposteur, nommé Abou Khatem, établit une secte particulière parmi certain Karmates du Sawad que l’on nommait Bouranija, du nom de leur Daï Bourani (البوارى). Abou Khatem interdisait à ses disciples l’ail, le poireau et les raves<sup>3</sup> . . . Cette espèce de Karmates fut nommée Nakalijja

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<sup>1</sup> الْجَارُ الْكُوْمِيُّ Ibn Adhârî I, 292 is probably identical with Ibn Haushab. Read على النَّجَارِ الْكُوْمِيِّ.—It is possible that على النَّجَارِ, who is mentioned Comm. 17<sup>9</sup> among the Karmatian missionaries immediately before ‘Alî b. al-Fadl (see next note), is identical with our man.—أبُو عبد الله العَجَانِي (ib.) is perhaps identical with Abû ‘Abdallah ash-Shi‘î.

<sup>2</sup> The variant in note *n* عليه تغلب على القرمطي instead of عليه حين تغلب على القرمطي, may be due to the difference in name.

<sup>3</sup> See above page 76<sup>16</sup>. A certain Mu‘azilite بَكَرْ بْنُ أَخْشَبٍ (اخت) prohibited garlick and onions, Isfr. 48<sup>6</sup>. On the prohibition of certain vegetables, see Chwolsohn, *Ssabier*, II, 10, 109 ff.

(القلبية).” The name Bûrânî does not occur elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> but [68] Naâkaliyya is found in various forms. Arîb (ed. de Goeje) p. 137 (anno 316) speaks of the Karmatians known (sic) بالنفلية بسواد الفرات. As one of their leaders is mentioned a certain حُرِيَث بْن مسعود بن حُرِيَث, who is no doubt identical with مسعود I Ath. VIII, 136 (also anno 316). Interesting is Mas'ûdî's remark (*Tanbîh* 391<sup>2</sup>): he had already mentioned in former works أخبار القرامطة البقلية (sic, see note *e*) بسواد الكوفة وغَلَبَتْهُمْ عَلَيْهَا وَذَلِكَ فِي سَنَة ٣١٩ وَالْعَلَةُ فِي تَسْمِيَتِهِمْ البقلية وهو اسم دِيَانِي عندَهُمْ وَكَانَ رُؤْسَاهُمْ مسعود بن حُرِيَث الحَنْجَر, comp. de Goeje ib. p. 99. I consider the reading Bakliyya the only correct one, as it no doubt stands in some relation to the prohibition of certain vegetables (بَقْل) recorded by de Sacy. The connection, assumed in the glossary to Mas'ûdî's *Tanbîh* (s. v. بقلية), between this sect and a certain <sup>15</sup> al-Baklî (Agh. XI, 75<sup>3</sup>, see Comm. p. 46<sup>4</sup>) is impossible. Both material and chronological discrepancies (anno 129—anno 316) speak against the identification.

69, 1. 1. On 'Ubeîdallah and the rise of the Fatimides see [69] the detailed accounts by de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 5 ff. (the larger <sup>20</sup> part of the essay bearing on this subject), Blochet, p. 77 ff.

— L. 4. The Khaṭṭâbiyya and the numerous factions belonging to it are frequently mentioned by I. H. (see Index). The name of the founder as given by I. H. is found Fîhr. 186 ult., Shahr. 136, I Ath. VIII, 21. Kashi, who devotes a very long <sup>25</sup> article to him (pp. 187–199), calls him Muhammad b. Abî

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps حاتم بن محمد بن حاتم البهاراني from Bârân, one of the towns of Merv (Yakut I, 462), may be the same man.—*Lubb al-Lubâb* explains إلى عمل البواري من القصب البواراني ونحوه. In the Appendix sub hac voce the editor remarks: “In separato articulo agit Ibn al-Athîr de البواري, quae est alia tantum eiusdem nominis forma.” I have not been able to locate the passage in I Ath.

[69] Zeinab, but adds that his name was مقلاص بن ابى الخطاب the brād al-ājdūr aṣ-ṣadī and يكنتى ابأ اسماعيل and يكنتى ايضا ابأ محمد بن ابى شور (p. 187). Makr. 352<sup>3</sup> gives his name as الطبيان by de Sacy ccccXL, note 2. Zeid. fol. 104<sup>a</sup> differs from all other authorities in calling him al-Hattāb (with soft under ح the line and without Abū): وصنف آخر يقال لهم الخطابية زعموا ان الامامة انتقلت من جعفر الى الخطاب والخطاب خليفة جعفر ووصيّه وجعفر عائب (غائب<sup>b</sup> read) حتى يرجع.

10 The Khattābiyya occupy a commanding position in heterodox Islam. Makr. 352<sup>c</sup> estimates their subdivisions at no less than fifty. Abū'l-Khattāb is designated as the originator of the allegorical method of Koran interpretation, see p. 14. IKot. 300, on the other hand, confesses to know nothing about him, 15 except that he permitted perjury against the opponents of his sect<sup>d</sup> as well as murder and adultery. The latter is also attributed to him by other writers.

The central point of the Khattābiyya doctrine is the worship of Ja'far. They claimed to be in possession of his mystic work 20 "Jafr," see p. 106. *Fihr.* 186 ult. ascribes to him the belief in the divinity of Ali. But this appears to be correct only in so far as he regarded all the Imams as higher Divine beings. According to Shahr. and Isfr. (56<sup>b</sup>), he claimed prophecy only when Ja'far had withdrawn from him. Zeid. (ib.) however 25 maintains that he asserted his claims only after Ja'far's death, pretending to have been designated by him as his successor.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On Raj'a see p. 93 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Makr. 352<sup>c</sup>.—Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 60, 222.

<sup>3</sup> Isfr. 56<sup>b</sup> and Makr. 352<sup>c</sup> assign to the Khattābiyya the belief in a "speaking" and "silent" Imam (Naṭīk and Ṣāmit), a conception which is of such incisive importance in the propaganda of the Bāṭiniyya. One might feel reluctant to admit the existence of this belief at so early a period. But *Fihr.*, too, assumes a connection between the Khattābiyya and the Meimūniyya, the party of Meimūn al-Kaddāḥ, the originator of the Bāṭiniyya movement. Comp. de Sacy, ccccXL.

The orthodox Imamites are anxious to get rid of this unpleasant partnership. Hence the numerous utterances put into the mouth of Ja‘far which curse Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb (Kashi repeatedly, see esp. p. 195) and declare those who follow him to be worse than “Jews, Christians, Magians and heathens” (p. 192, 194; <sup>5</sup> in the year 138, p. 191 below). They maintain that Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb told lies about Ja‘far (ib. 195, 146) and that his adherents “to this very day smuggle these traditions into the books of the adherents of Abū ‘Abdallah (i. e., Ja‘far)” (ib. 146).—

Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb was crucified in Kufa by ‘Īsa b. Mūsa (d. 167), <sup>10</sup> Shahr. ib., Isfr. 56<sup>b</sup>.

— L. 7. Comp. Iji 346 (read ابا (ابا) لکن ابو) **وجعفر الصادق إلاّ لکن ابو (ابا** الخطب افضل منه), similarly Bagd. 99<sup>b</sup>, Isfr. 56<sup>b</sup>.

— L. 9 f. **أَبْنَاءُ اللَّهِ وَأَحْبَاؤُهُ** is quoted Koran 5, 21 as the <sup>15</sup> pretension of the Jews and Christians. According to Shahr., Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb applied this expression to the ancestors of Ja‘far, i. e., to the Huseinids only. Makr. (352<sup>o</sup>) states that he believed that “the Imams were like Ali and that his (i. e., Ali’s) children were all prophets.” More distinctly Iji ib.: **الإِلَمَةُ الْهِيَّةُ** <sup>20</sup> **دَعَوْهَا**, **وَالْخَسَنَانِ أَبْنَاءُ اللَّهِ** **أَنَّ الْخَسِنَ وَالْخَسِينَ وَأَوْلَادُهُمَا أَبْنَاءُ اللَّهِ وَأَحْبَاؤُهُ**. Our text accordingly cannot be correct. On the basis of the above statements I have inserted the name of al-Husein. I read either **الْخَسَنَانِ وَالْخَسِينَ** or, perhaps more acceptably, **الْخَسَنَيْنِ**. <sup>25</sup>

— L. 11. This strange belief was widespread in these circles, see p. 72<sup>o</sup>. Thus the Mu‘ammarīyya (p. 114<sup>11</sup>) believed that “men do not die but their spirits are lifted up into other (men?)” (Makr. 352<sup>o</sup>). This is evidently the belief in Transmigration. Philosophically tinged is the opinion of the Bazi-<sup>30</sup> giyya “that the man who has attained to perfection cannot be said to have died” (p. 96<sup>11</sup>).

[69] — L. 12. Instead of the translation offered in the text, which conveys no proper meaning, I would suggest to punctuate the Arabic phrase Ed. IV, 187<sup>14</sup> in the following manner:

“**واشبة على الناس بهذه الشیخ الذي ترون**” the most uncertain

<sup>5</sup> in the opinion of men regarding this (the claim not to die and to be lifted up to heaven) is the Sheikh whom you see (i. e., Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb).” In other words, if anyone, then it is Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb who has no chance to get to heaven. L Br (note 5) read

**اشتبه** <sup>هذا</sup> **تشبه**. Perhaps in Ed., too, **اشتبه** is to be corrected into **اشتبه**.

<sup>10</sup> The two readings would then coincide.<sup>1</sup>

— L. 14. On the Mu‘ammariyya see Shahr. 137, Makr. 352<sup>7</sup> (who agrees with him verbatim). This Mu‘ammar is possibly identical with the Mu‘tazilite **معمر بن عباد المسلمي** Makr. 347<sup>28</sup>, Iji 340, who expresses similar opinions, and with Mu‘ammar who advocates the Imamate of ‘Abdallah, the son of Ja‘far as-Sādīk, Makr. 351<sup>30</sup>. The latter view is assigned by Shahr. 126 to the Aftahiyya sect, which derives its name from al-Aftah, the by-name of ‘Abdallah b. Ja‘far. The name of the founder is omitted.

<sup>20</sup> — L. 18. Abū Muqīth (Tab. III, 2289, Abū Muhammed) al-Husein b. Mansūr al-Hallāj, whose grandfather is said to have been a Magian (Zoroastrian), came from the town Beidā in Fāris. He was executed in 309/922 during the reign of al-Muktaḍir and his ashes were strewn in the Tigris. His adherents considered this the cause of the rise of the Tigris in that year. Many expected that he would return to life after forty days (comp. p. 23<sup>27</sup>), asserting that it was not Hallāj who was executed but an enemy of his on whom he had pressed his own features, IKhall. 186, see Comm. 30<sup>12</sup>. He exercised a powerful influence not only on his own age but on posterity as well. He had numerous admirers among orthodox Muhammedans (Bagd.

<sup>1</sup> One thinks of Makr.’s words (352<sup>10</sup>) in his account on the Bazīgiyya that Ja‘far was a god **وأنما تشبه على** **هو الذي يراها الناس** **وليس** **الناس**. But I do not know how to bring this meaning into I. H.’s sentence.

101<sup>a</sup>)<sup>1</sup> and even among non-Muhammedans.<sup>2</sup> See on Hallâj, [69] *Fihr.* 190<sup>14</sup> ff. (with a list of his writings), Arîb (ed. de Goeje) 86 ff., Bagd. 101<sup>a</sup>, Isfr. 60<sup>a</sup> f. (an extract from the latter, Haarbrücker II, 417), Dozy, *Isl.* 324 f., Kremer, *Ideen* 70 f., 130 note 26.<sup>5</sup>

— L. 19. IKhall. No. 186 similarly has Hâmid (not *Ibn* H., note 9). He died 311.

— L. 22. The by-name of this sectarian is usually given as **الشَّمَعَانِي**, from Shalmağân, a town in the neighborhood of Wâsit, IAth. VIII, 216, Yakut III, 314. It is evident that I. H. took the name Shalmağân to be that of a person (see also note 10). Similarly IKhall. No. 186, p. 129 has *Ibn* ash-Shalmağâni. Interesting in this connection is Yakut's remark (ib.): “ash-Shalmağân is the name of a man; possibly this town derives its name from him. But it is a mistake.” He admits, however, that elsewhere this word is found as a personal name, as can be confirmed by a verse of al-Buhturî. Aside from **الشَّمَعَانِي**, we also find **السَّلْمَعَانِي**, *Fihr.* 176<sup>25</sup>, note 13 (this coincides with the reading of A, note 10 of our text) and **السَّلْمَقَانِي** Bagd. 102<sup>a</sup>.—I. H. is the only one who designates him as Kâtib. Perhaps this is due to a confusion with the Kâtib mentioned soon afterwards (Text, p. 70, note 2, l. 5).<sup>20</sup>

The reading **الْفَرَاقِد** (note 11) is confirmed by the variant **فَرَاقِين**, IKhall. No. 186, p. 129. The vast majority of writers,

<sup>1</sup> I. H. quotes him repeatedly as the type of a miracle worker, e. g., Ed. I, 109<sup>21</sup>, 110<sup>11</sup>; he ridicules (V, 117<sup>13</sup>) the “adherents of Incarnation and the extremists among the Râfiqa” who believe that people like Hallâj, **ابن ابی العز** (probably abbreviation for **ابن ابی العز**, see Comm. 116 n. 1) and others are Divine beings, while they sit in their company, discharge the lowest human functions and exhibit human desires.

<sup>2</sup> See a poem of his transcribed in Hebrew characters published by Hirschfeld, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 15 (1903), p. 176, 180 f. I myself found in the Oxford Genizah (Ms. Hebr. d 57) a poem of a similar nature in Hebrew characters with the superscription **الْحَلَّاج رضي الله عنه**. (He plainly says there **الله انا**.)

[69] however, give him the *Kunya* أباً العراقِ<sup>1</sup> Bagd. 91<sup>a</sup>, 102<sup>a</sup> and Isfr. 61<sup>b</sup> call his adherents العراقِرَة. IAth. VIII, 216 reads قراقِر. Masudi III, 267 has أبو الغرائِر.

The cardinal point of ash-Shalmagānī's doctrine is the theory of the "Addād" (Contrasts), the simultaneous revelation of God in a good and evil principle. Thus, e. g., he revealed himself first in Adam and Iblīs, etc.<sup>2</sup> He called Moses and Muhammed impostors, because they merely were the apostles of Aron and Ali respectively and usurped a dignity to which they were not entitled. IAth. and Abulfeda II, 382, from whom I have drawn this information, point out the resemblance between this doctrine and that of the Nūseirīyya (p. 126 f.), suggesting that they are identical.

On ash-Shalmagānī see also *Führ.* 176<sup>25</sup>, 147<sup>22</sup>, 196<sup>19</sup>, de Slane's English translation of IKallikan I, 439, note 18 (a biography extracted from Dahabi's *Ta'rikh al-Islām*), de Sacy cxlii, Kremer, *Ideen* 75 ff.

Worthy of note is the relation of the official Shi'a to this heretic. Tūsy allots him some space in his work (p. 305, No.

20662), but cautiously adds تغيّر مستقيماً الطريق ثمّ تغيّر. Mirza fol. 55<sup>b</sup> rebukes the Imamites for this ambiguous attitude:

وَمِنَ الظَّرَافِ إِنَّهُمْ نَقَلُوا فِي كُتُبِ صَحَابِهِمْ مِنْ حَمْدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ  
الشَّلْمَغَانِيِّ الْفَضَائِرِيِّ (sic) وَمِثْلِهِ وَشَبَاهِهِ أَهَادِيَّثَ مُنْكَرَةً  
وَذَمَّوْهَا فِي كُتُبِ رِجَالِهِمْ غَايَةَ الدَّمْ حَتَّىٰ أَنَّهُ قَالَ الْحَلِّيُّ فِي

ابن العراقِ<sup>1</sup> is, of course, a variant of *الفرائد*. If Ed. V 117<sup>14</sup> stands for ابن أبي العراقِ, then this would be the original form of the name and the difference between I. H. (note 11) and the other writers could be easily explained. IAth. VIII, 372 calls him *Ibn Abī'l-Karākir*.

<sup>2</sup> This idea is clearly identical with the Syzygy doctrine taught in the Pseudo-Clementines, *Recognitiones* III, 59, 61; *Homilies*, II, 15; *Recogn.* III, 61 assumes ten such opposite pairs.

<sup>3</sup> Died 726<sup>b</sup>, Hāji Khalfa II, 194.

[69] خلاصة الرجال وابن داود<sup>١</sup> في رجاله ان الصادق قال في شأنه  
انه كذاب ملعون.

[70] واباح الدواط و Zum [70] انه إيلاج الفاضل نوره في المفضول واباح اتباعه له حرمهم طمئناً

في إيلاجه نوره فيهنّ.—He believed that the union in spirit is <sup>٥</sup> possible only through the union in flesh, de Sacy II, 572.

— Note 2, l. 2-4. Al-Husein b. 'Ubeidallah<sup>٢</sup> was Vizier under al-Muktadir. I. H.'s assertion that he was killed conflicts with the statement of all other authorities that he renounced ash-Shalmagānī in time and thus saved his life. Bagd. reports <sup>١٠</sup> that the Shafite and Malekite judges were of different opinion regarding the admissibility of his repentance, the former voting for, the latter against its acceptance.

— Note 2, l. 5. Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad b. Muhammed b. Abī 'Aun (so Yakut III, 314; IKhallikan ib. omits Muhammed; <sup>١٥</sup>

Bagd. ib. has (ابراهيم بن محمد بن احمد بن المنجم) was a writer of note, celebrated for the elegance of his style, Yakut, IKhall. Contrary to the vizier al-Husein (see preceding note), he refused to renounce ash-Shalmagānī and was crucified and then burned in the year 322. <sup>٢٠</sup>

— L. 5. The same man is mentioned by I. H. as a typical sorcerer *Milal* V, fol. 62<sup>a</sup> (Ed. I, 109<sup>٢٠</sup> ff. as well as Cod. L leave the name out and differ considerably): ومن هذا النوع كان سحره فرعون وشناس (sic) البصري وسائر الكذابين فقط. See the variants in our text note 3. There is no means to decide <sup>25</sup> which is the correct form.—This person seems to be identical with a man merely designated as البصري and dealt with by IAth. VIII, 372 (anno 340). He pretended that Ibn Abīl Karākir (see p. 116 n. 1) had embodied himself in him and he had then become the legitimate head of the Karākiriyya. The <sup>30</sup>

<sup>١</sup> Comp. Brockelmann I, 406.

<sup>٢</sup> The same form of the name also IKhall. 186, p. 129 (=de Slane's edition 224<sup>b</sup>), IAth. VIII, 217, Abulfeda II, 382, Bagd. 102<sup>a</sup>, Isfr. 61<sup>b</sup>; only Tab. III, 2162<sup>c</sup> has *Abū'l-Husein*.

[70] identification suggests itself the more readily, as in I. H.'s account he also follows immediately after ash-Shalmagānī.—The clause "in our time" is scarcely correct, as I. H. was born 384<sup>h</sup> (died 456). The mistake, however, is excusable when we think of the distance between Cordova and Baṣra.

— L. 7. Abū Muslim, usually styled Sâhib ad-Daula, was born about 100<sup>h</sup> and was assassinated at the command of Manṣûr about 140, IKhall. No. 382; IKot. 191 gives the year 137.

The by-name السراج (as-Sirâj "Lamp" or, better, as-Sarrâj

<sup>10</sup> "Saddler"?) I found only in I. H. (Text here, 36<sup>11</sup>,<sup>1</sup> 45<sup>12</sup>).

Abū Muslim was dealt with *Text 45<sup>13</sup>*. Here I. H. records the additional belief in his divinity. According to Shahr. 114, it was the Rizâmiyya who advocated this belief. The founder of this sect, Rizâm b. Sâbiḳ,<sup>2</sup> rose in Khorâsân during the lifetime

<sup>15</sup> of Abū Muslim. He maintained that Ali transferred the Imamate to Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya,<sup>3</sup> who passed it over to Abū Hâshim, who, in turn, bequeathed it in writing to the Abbassides. At the same time he believed that Abū Muslim was an associate in the Imamate and an incarnation of the

<sup>20</sup> Divinity. Similarly Iji 347. Bagd. 100<sup>a</sup> (and alike Isfr. 59<sup>a</sup>)

ثم زعموا ان الإمامة بعد السفاح صار (صارت read) الى ابى مسلم واقرروا مع

ذلك بقتل ابى مسلم وموته الا فرقة منهم يقال لها ابوا مسلمية افطرطوا في ادى مسلم غيبة الافراط وزعموا انه صار إلهًا بحلول روح

<sup>25</sup> إلهة فيه وزعموا ان ابا مسلم خير من جبريل وميكائيل وسائر

الملائكة وزعموا ايضا ان ابا مسلم حي لم يمت وهم على

<sup>1</sup> Makr. reads السروح, see Text ib. note 6.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of سابق Cureton's edition has a blank. It was apparently missing in his Ms. I have supplied the name from Makr. 353<sup>4</sup>. Haarbrücker, p. 173, curiously translates: "Die Anhänger von Rizâm, dem Sohne eines unbekannten Vaters"!

<sup>3</sup> Hence their classification among the Keisâniyya.

<sup>4</sup> The Bazîgiyya (p. 95<sup>24</sup> ff.) believed "that some among them were better than Gabriel, Michael and Muhammed," Makr. 352<sup>21</sup>.

[70] انتظاره وهؤلاء بمرو وهرأة يُعرَفون بالبروكية فإذا سُئل هؤلاء عن الذي قتله المنصور قالوا كان شيطاناً تصور للناس في صورة أبي مسلم<sup>1</sup>. Masudi VI, 186, on the whole, agrees with this presentation: “When the (news of) the assassination of Abū Muslim reached Khorāsān and the other mountainous regions, 5 the Khurramiyya (comp. the variants) became agitated. They are the party called Muslimiyya, which believed in Abū Muslim and in his Imamate . . . Some among them were of the opinion that he has not died nor would he ever die until he has appeared and filled the earth with justice.” *Fihr.* 344<sup>2</sup> ff. similarly 10 describes the Muslimiyya as the sect which believed that Abū Muslim was alive آنَهْ حَيٌّ يُرَزِّقْ (comp. *Comm.* 38<sup>13</sup>). He mentions particularly a certain Ishāk who acted in Transoxania as Abū Muslim’s missionary, claiming that the latter was imprisoned in the mountains of ar-Rayy and that he would come forth at a 15 certain time which was known to him only. Makr. 353<sup>2</sup> is not correct when he describes the Rizāmiyya as the party which passes the Imamate down to as-Saffāh and quite separately enumerates among the Rāwandiyya (p. 121 ff.) the بُسْلَمِيَّة (see 20 footnote below) which transfers the Imamate from as-Saffāh to Abū Muslim.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 30<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Makr. 354<sup>2</sup>, أبي سلمة صاحب دولة بنى العباس, also 1. 3, بُسْلَمِيَّة is to be read instead of أبي سلمة.—de Sacy LIX connects the بُسْلَمِيَّة with Abū Salma, Abū Muslim’s general. But then it would be most surprising that Makr. mentions nothing about the worship of Abū Muslim and that the other sources again mention nothing about Abū Salma. Besides, Abū Salma would scarcely be styled “Sâhib ad-Daula.” The proposed emendation removes these difficulties. The name of the sect بُسْلَمِيَّة is either to be read المسْلَمِيَّة (as Masudi and *Fihrist* have) or to be explained as a contracted Nisba for أبو مسلمية (as Bagd. gives), e. g., عَبْقَسِي from عبد الشهس عبد القيس from عبد الشهسي عبد القيس, comp. Wright, *Grammar of the Arabic Language* (3d ed.) I, § 264 Rem. b. True, this contraction does not exactly correspond with the examples given, I, p. 162 A. But one knows that the abstractions of the Arabic grammarians are of little avail, especially in the case of the Nisba endings.

[70] On Abū Muslim and his connection with Mazdaism, see Blochet 43 ff.

— L. 9. See also Text 36<sup>o</sup>. The first name of al-Mukanna' is not certain. IKhall. No. 431 gives 'Atâ and Hakîm respectively. The latter name is recorded Tab. III, 484<sup>16</sup> and IAth. VI, 25. Hâshim (reading of L. Br, note 6) is also found Makr. 354<sup>8</sup>, while Bagd. 100<sup>a</sup>, perhaps correctly, calls him Hâshim b. Hakîm. He was from Merv (note 7), according to Bagd.

من اهـل قـرـيـة يـقـال لـهـا كـاـزـهـ كـيـمـانـ دـاـتـ. He was a fuller by profession, I. H., Bagd. Abulfeda II, 44, IAth. VI, 25 (read

قـصـيـرـاـ instead of قـصـارـاـ). He belonged to the Rizâmiyya (Shahr. 115, Bagd.) and believed in the divinity of Abû Muslim, regarding himself as his incarnation (IAth.). He committed suicide while besieged in his stronghold in 163. According to one version, he died through poison, Tab. III, 490<sup>19</sup>, IKhall. ib., Abulfeda ib., Dozy, *Isl.* 245 f. According to another (recorded by Bagd. and Isfr.), he threw himself into a burning furnace so that his adherents were unable to find his body and were therefore induced to believe that he had been lifted up to heaven. IAth. VI, 34 f. gives room to both versions. Bagd. 100<sup>b</sup> (shorter Isfr. 60<sup>a</sup>) adds the following interesting notice about the adherents of Muñanna' at the time of this writer:

وَأَنْبَاعَهُ الْيَوْمَ فِي جَبَالِ إِيلَاقٍ<sup>1</sup> أَكْرَهَ أَهْلَهَا وَلَهُمْ فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ مِّنْ قُرْيَاهُمْ مَسْجِدٌ لَا يَصْلُوْنَ فِيهِ وَلَكِنْ يَكْتُرُونَ<sup>2</sup> مَوْذُنًا يَوْذَنَ فِيهِ وَهُمْ يَسْتَحْلِلُونَ الْمَيْتَةَ وَلَخْنَزِيرَ وَكُلَّ وَاحِدٍ مِّنْهُمْ يَسْتَمْتَعُ بِامْرَأَةٍ غَيْرِهِ<sup>25</sup> وَإِنْ ظَفَرُوا بِمُسْلِمٍ لَمْ يَرَهُ الْمَوْذَنُ الَّذِي فِي مَسْجِدِهِمْ قُتْلَوْهُ وَأَخْفَوْهُ غَيْرُ أَنَّهُمْ مَقْهُورُونَ بِعَامَّةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فِي نَاحِيَتِهِمْ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى ذَلِكَ .

Very important is Bagd's statement (100<sup>a</sup>) concerning his doctrine: وزعم لأنباعه انه هو إله وانه قد كان تصور مرّة في

<sup>1</sup> On the border of Farğâna, Yakut I, 421.

<sup>2</sup> This word gives no sense. Isfr. has instead يَسْتَأْجِرُونَ.

[70] صورة آدم ثم تصور في وقت آخر بصورة نوح وفي وقت آخر بصورة إبراهيم ثم تصور في صورة الأنبياء إلى محمد الخ ثم انه زعم انه في زمانه (then in Ali, his sons, finally in Abû Muslim) الذي كان فيه قد تصور بصورة هاشم بن حكيم وكان اسمه هاشم بن حكيم وقال إنما انتقل في الصور لأن عباد لا يطيقون رؤيتها في صورى التي أنا عليها ومن رأني احترق بنوري.

See on this doctrine p. 85<sup>21</sup> ff.

— L. 13. Read Râwandiyya (with long â in the first syllable).

The name Râwandiyya is generally applied to the people who came in 141 or, according to another version, in 136 or 137, to<sup>10</sup> Hâshimiyya, then the capital of the Caliphate, to pay divine homage to the Caliph al-Manṣûr, Tab. III, 129 = IAth. V, 383; Dozy, *Isl.* 242; Kremer, *Ideen* 12; Müller, *Islam* I, 494; Weil, *Geschichte der Chaliften* II, 37 f.; van Vloten, *Chiitisme* 48. This application, however, is correct only in part. Originally,<sup>15</sup> it seems, the Râwandiyya were but a *political* party which assigned the Imamate to the Abbassides, just as other parties assigned it to the Omeyyads or Alides. Masudi repeatedly describes them as the شيعة ولد العباس who justified the transfer of the Imamate to the Abbassides on the basis of Koran 8, 76<sup>20</sup> and who hired the corruptible al-Jâhiẓ (d. 255/869) to write for them to order the book "Kitâb Imâmati waladil-'Abbâs." (Masudi VIII, 56.) The latter fact alone, which brings the Râwandiyya down to the third century H., suffices to show that the Râwandiyya, at least, chronologically,<sup>25</sup> extend far beyond the ill-fated "guluww" attempt in 141. It was only at a later time that the Râwandiyya claimed that the Imamate had been transferred to the Abbassides by a written will of Abû Hâshim, the son of Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya (Masudi VIII, 58), thus appearing as a branch of the Keisâniyya.<sup>30</sup> Bagd. apparently holds the same view on this matter when, in formulating the orthodox doctrine of the Imamate, he adds

وقالوا (يعنى أهل السنة والجماعة) بامامة أبي بكر : (fol. 133<sup>a</sup>)

الصادق بعد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم خلاف قول من

[70] (sic) قول الروندية من الراضة وخلافها على لعلٍ أثبّتها **أثبّتها** [sic] على وحدة من الراضة وخلاف قول الروندية (sic).

الذين أثبّتوا اماماً العباس بعده.<sup>1</sup> Comp. also fol. 12<sup>a</sup>.

I. H. expresses himself similarly Ed. IV. 90<sup>18</sup>: “Another party says: the Caliphate is only permissible in the children of al-<sup>5</sup> ‘Abbâs b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭâlib. This is the opinion of the Râwandiyya.”<sup>2</sup>

It was only a small group out of this large party which cherished extravagant ideas and, as the Muhammedan theologians would say, exaggerated concerning the ‘Abbassides. This is still evident from Tab.’s statement III, 418<sup>19</sup>, that it was a certain man called Ablâk who arranged the attempt at the deification of Mânsûr and “called upon the Râwandiyya to join him,” in other words, used an already existing party for his special purposes.<sup>3</sup>

The name of the sect is written روندية Tab. ib.,<sup>4</sup> I. H. and others; روندية Bagd. and Isfr., and Suyûti, *Ta’rikh*, 263, which the English translator, p. 266 note, unjustifiedly, as will presently be seen, regards as incorrect. For it is the latter variant, reflected as well in the reading of Ed. Y. 20 (our text, note 9) and this page, note 2, which gives us the clue to the origin of the sect. As a matter of fact, the Râwandiyya are unanimously connected by the Arabic authors with the province of Khorâsân, which was, as is well known, the centre of the Abbasside propaganda (Masudi VI, 54, Tab. III, 82, 129<sup>15</sup>=IAth. V, 383, comp. Abulfeda II, 13). A locality by the name of Râwand, however, is unknown in that province. A place of that name is mentioned by Yakut II, 741 as being in the vicinity of *Isbahân*. Accordingly, Dozy, *Isl.* 242 and Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 38 (the latter quotes

<sup>1</sup> بعده may refer to the Prophet or to Ali. The latter is more probable, for Masudi, too, tells us that they made an exception in the case of Ali.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. L. **الرونديّة**, see later. Masudi VI, 26 says rather vaguely: “The Râwandiyya (maintain) that the Imamate is permissible in the Kureish only.”

<sup>3</sup> The view set forth in the text is in the main anticipated by de Sacy LVI f. who similarly takes Mas’ûdî’s statement as the point of departure.

<sup>4</sup> It is to be regretted that the editor omitted the variations of this name, which he declares (III, 82, note b) to be numerous.

also other views, note 1) seek the origin of this sect in that [70] region. But this view contradicts the express statements of the Arabic sources. Considering the variations of the name of this sect, I am inclined to place its origin in **ربوند**, a region near Nîsâbûr, the capital of Khorâsân, Yakut II, 891, comp. *Lubb* <sup>5</sup> *al-Lubdb* s. v., **الربوندي**. This conjecture is raised to certainty by the fact that IKhall. calls the very same region **راوند**, (No. 34, in the biography of **احمد بن جبي الراوندي**). In other words, **ربوند** and **راوند** are two various pronunciations of the same name which in Persian sounded Rêvend.<sup>1</sup> <sup>10</sup>

Aside from this geographical explanation of the name, another derivation is found which must be discussed here. Isfr. 10<sup>a</sup>, speaking of the succession of the Imamate after Abû Hâshim, remarks as follows: **ثم قال قوم رجعت (يعنى الامامة) بعد ابى هاشم الى محمد (بن على?) بن عبد الله بن عباس بوصية بن ابي هاشم له بها وهذا قول ابن (بن) (بن) ابي هاشم (strike out ابي هاشم له بها وهذا قول ابن (بن) (بن) ابي هاشم) الراوندي واتباعه.** I combine this statement with the notice Makr. 351<sup>11</sup> (in his enumeration of the sects of the Rawâfid) **وقد اختلف الناس في الامام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فذهب الجمهور إلى ادّه ابّو بكر . . . وقال العباسية والربوبيّة اتباع ابّي هريرة الربوبيّ وقيل اتباع ابّي العباس الربوبيّ هو العباس بن عبد المطلب رضي الله عنه لأنّه العم والوارث وهو أحق من ابن العم** (**الربوبيّ** and **الربوبيّة** instead of **الربونديّ** and **الربونديّة**) and, taking into account their identity in doctrine, to regard <sup>25</sup> them as one.

Examining our material as a whole, we are led to believe that there were two sects of this name: the one, properly so called, from Rîwand in Khorâsân, appeared in the time of Abû

<sup>1</sup> De Sacy LVII recognized in part this relation.

[70] Muslim and professed the extravagant doctrines set forth above; the other, called so after their founder or leader ar-Râwândî, was a political party for which al-Jâhîz as late as in the third century composed his treatise in favor of the Abbasside claims <sup>5</sup> to the Imamate.

Finally, attention may be called to another sect which stands in a peculiar relation to the Râwândiyya. It is a remarkable fact that our sect which, as can be inferred from the above, is by no means insignificant, is mentioned neither by Shahr. nor <sup>10</sup> Iji nor Makr. In its stead we find the Rizâmiyya, credited with exactly the same views, as have been set forth above as those of the Râwândiyya. And what is even more significant, the Baslamiyya (or Muslimiyya, see p. 119 n. 2), which worshipped Abû Muslim as a Divine incarnation and is counted among the <sup>15</sup> Râwândiyya (Makr. 353 ult.,—the only passage in which the name occurs—, Tab. III, 129<sup>16</sup>=IAth. V, 383; Bagd. 103<sup>b</sup>:

وَكَذَلِكَ دَعْوَى قَوْمٌ مِّن الْرَّوْنَدِيَّةِ فِي أَبِي مُسْلِمٍ

(وَكَذَلِكَ دَعْوَى قَوْمٌ مِّن الْرَّوْنَدِيَّةِ فِي أَبِي مُسْلِمٍ), figures in the other sources among the Rizâmiyya (p. 118 f.). It is clear that the two sects are intimately connected with one another. One <sup>20</sup> feels naturally inclined to take them for one. The difference in the names and their derivations seem to speak against their identity.

— L. 15. · See p. 100<sup>32</sup> ff.

[71] 71, l. 1. A great deal of confusion prevails with regard to <sup>25</sup> the name of this sectarian. The extant forms may be classified as follows: عبد الله بن عمرو بن الحرب Text 37<sup>a</sup>, Makr. 362<sup>16</sup> (quotation), Shahr. 112, Bagd. 12<sup>a</sup> (*promiscue* and عَمَرْ), Isfr. 10<sup>a</sup>, Kashi 195<sup>11</sup>; عبد الله بن الحرب Text 71, note 1 (reading of L Br), Kashi 188<sup>1</sup> (parallel to 195<sup>11</sup>), Makr. quoted <sup>30</sup> by van Vloten, *Worgers* p. 61, note 8; عبد الله بن عمرو بن الحرب Bagd. 97<sup>a</sup>, Shahr. 112 ult., Text 37<sup>a</sup> (reading of Y); عبد الله Isfr. 56<sup>b</sup>, Abu'l Maali 158; عبد الله بن الحرب Bagd. 97<sup>a</sup>, Abu'l-Maali 158, van <sup>35</sup> Vloten in his edition of *Mafâtih al-'Ulûm*, Leyden 1895, p. 6; الحربية *ib.* as a variant, Makr. quoted van Vloten, *Worgers*, p. 8.

61, n. 8,<sup>1</sup> Text 71<sup>17</sup> (see note 12). Very interesting in this connection is Makr.'s notice quoted from a manuscript by van

Vloten, *Worgers* ib.: **وَمِنْهُمْ الْحَرْبِيَّةُ أَقْبَاعُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْحَرْثِ**  
**وَاسْمُ الْحَرْثِ سَلَمُ بْنُ مَسْعُودٍ بْنُ خَالِدٍ بْنُ أَشْرَمٍ وَهُوَ مِنْ بْنَى**  
**الْطَّمْحِ بْنِ الْحَرْبِ بْنِ مَعْوِيَّةِ بْنِ الْحَرْثِ بْنِ مَعْوِيَّةِ بْنِ شُورٍ**<sup>5</sup>  
**بْنِ مَرْقَعٍ**<sup>2</sup>. The notice is not quite clear, but this much can be inferred from it that there is both **الْحَرْبِ** and **الْحَرْثِ** among 'Abdallah's ancestors who may be responsible for the variations and that the name of the sect does not, at least in this case, necessarily conform with the immediate ancestor of the founder.<sup>3</sup><sup>10</sup>

Very peculiar is the notice Shahr. 113 that after 'Abdallah b. Mu'awiya's death (comp. Text 71<sup>14</sup>) his adherents believed that his spirit was transferred to "Ishâk b. Zeid b. al-Hârith al-Ansârî. *These are the Hârithiyya* who permit forbidden things and live the life of one who has no duties imposed on him" (comp. de Sacy, II, 593). It would thus seem that the Hârithiyya are not identical with the Harbiyya and represent but a later development of the Harbiyya (or Kharbiyya).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Van Vloten is inclined to pronounce the name al-Kharbiyya to suit the metre. This is scarcely permissible considering that the word itself stands in the verse by emendation.

<sup>2</sup> The genealogical chain Marta'-Thaur—Mu'awiya—al-Hârith—Mu'awiya is found Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, 4<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> I have no means to ascertain whether the following passages have any bearing on this sect, although several points seem to suggest it:

**الْحَرْبِيَّةُ نُسِبَتْ :** Belâdorî, *Futûh al-Buldân*, ed. de Goeje, 295 penult. : **إِلَى حَرْبٍ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْبَلْخِيِّ** (see variants); 'Abu'l-Mahâsin, Leyden 1855, I, 397 (anno 147): **وَكَانَ بِهَا (يَعْنِي بِمَدِينَةِ تَفْلِيسِ) حَرْبُ بْنِ** ; **عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الرِّيَوْنَدِيِّ الَّذِي تُنَسِّبُ إِلَيْهِ الْحَرْبِيَّةُ** بِمَعْدَادٍ IKhall.

No. 19, p. 30 (biography of Ahmad b. Hanbal): **وَدُفِنَ بِمَقْبِرَةِ بَابِ حَرْبٍ** من منسوب إلى حرب بن عبد الله أحد اصحاب أبي جعفر المنصور والى حرب هذا تنسب الحلة المعروفة بالحربية.

[71] According to Bagd. 97<sup>a</sup>, 'Abdallah adhered to the doctrine of Bayân that God embodies himself in the prophets and the Imams, claiming that the Divine spirit went over from Abû Hâshim to him; comp. Shahr. 112 penult.

<sup>5</sup> — L. 4. On the number of prayers see the variants here and Text 37, n. 3. 17 is attested by most manuscripts, Makr. 362<sup>16</sup> (quotation from I. H.), also in the notice quoted by van Vloten, *Worgers* ib. Is 17 (7+10) a holy number? The “Greatest Name” is said to consist of 17 letters, p. 87<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> — L. 6. The Șufriyya (or Șifriyya, see Haarbrücker, II, 406) is a very moderate Khârijite sect.

— L. 8. Makr. quoted van Vloten, *Worgers*, ib. expresses himself similarly وَرَجَعَ إِلَى قَوْلِ الصِّفْرِيَّةِ الْخَوَارِجِ فَبَرِئَ مِنْهُ احْصَابَهُ وَالرَّجُلُ مَا قَابَ وَبَقَوْا عَلَى كُفَّرِهِمْ. The words Shahr. 113<sup>1</sup> (Haarbrücker 170 “aber der Mann kehrte nicht zum Wissen und zur Religiosität zurück”) are impossible, both as regards contents and grammatical form (subject before verb, *كان يرجع* for a single action). What Shahr. meant to say is most probably, judging by the statements of I. H. and Makr., the exact reverse of it: that 'Abdallah did return to (true) knowledge and religion, and was consequently deserted by his followers.

— L. 14. On 'Abdallah b. Mu'âwiya see Text 45<sup>15</sup>, Comm. 44<sup>11</sup> ff. and Wellhausen, *Opp.* 98 f.

<sup>25</sup> — L. 19. The name of this sect alternates between نصَّارَيَّةٌ and نصَّيْرَيَّةٌ (see the readings note 15). The former is also found Abulfeda II, 388 (IAth. VIII, 220, which is his source, reads النصَّيْرَيَّة), *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, p. 1385 (quotation from Iji; ed. Sörenson has النصَّيْرَيَّة). This difference <sup>30</sup> is of importance for the understanding of the origin of the sect, which is controversial; see de Sacy CLXXXIII, II 559 ff., Wolff, *Drusen* 214 ff. Abulfeda derives the name from the citadel Naṣariyya and places the origin of the sect in the year 270/891. Nuṣeiriyya again is interpreted as a term of contempt: “little Christians,” ZDMG. III, 308 note. On the other hand, Guayard, “Un grand maître des Assassins,” *Journal*

*Asiatique* 1877, I, p. 349, derives the name from a man called [71] Muhammed b. Nuṣeir, an adherent of al-Hasan al-‘Askarī (died 260), the eleventh Imam of the Imamiyya, Text 58<sup>7</sup>. The Catechism of the Druzes considers the founder of the Nuṣeiriyya a man named Nuṣeirī, Blochet 101. <sup>5</sup>

The cardinal point of the Nuṣeiriyya doctrine is the deification of Ali. This accounts for the fact that they are considered by I. H. an outgrowth of the Sabā'iyya.—Ali, they believed, existed before the world was created, Shahr. 144. To the question “who has created us?” the modern Nuṣeiriyya cate-<sup>10</sup> chism gives the reply: “Ali”, ZDMG. III, 302. In other words, Ali is the Demiurge, see p. 91. They believed in the simultaneous incarnation of God in a good and evil being (Shahr. 144, Iji 348), more exactly, in seven such successive incarnations; see the list of the seven incarnations, ZDMG. III, 303; on the <sup>15</sup> number seven see Index s.v. Seven. This theory strikingly resembles ash-Shalmagānī's doctrine of the Addād, p. 116<sup>6</sup>. Muhammed was Ali's apostle and was sent to bring mankind to his recognition, ZDMG. III, 302.

The Nuṣeiriyya are closely related to the Ishākiyya (p. 102<sup>18</sup>). <sup>20</sup> They are mentioned together, Shahr. 143, Iji 21, 348. Yakut III, 275, appears to identify them. He says briefly of ash-Shortā, a district near Wāsit, **اَهْلَهَا كُلُّهَا اِسْحَاقِيَّةٌ نُصِيرِيَّةٌ**.

72, 1. 1. Instead of “army” read “district.” **جَنْدٌ**, pl. [72] **أَجْنَادٌ**, originally “army district,” became afterwards a pure <sup>25</sup> geographical designation. The Jordan district with Tiberias as capital corresponds to the Roman province Palestina Secunda (Prof. Nöldeke in a private communication).—I have found no reference to this occupation of Palestine by the Nuṣeiriyya outside of I. H. <sup>30</sup>

— L. 2 ff. Yakut probably refers to the same fact when he says, referring to them (II, 338, sub voce **حُمْصٌ اَلْامَامِيَّةُ**) **اَصْلُهُمْ اَلْامَامِيَّةُ**.

**يَسْبُونَ السَّلَفَ**.—The reason for their hatred of Fāṭima and her children lies probably in their conception of Ali as Divine being, who, as such, can have neither wife nor children. Abu'l <sup>35</sup> Maali 158 enumerates among the Gāliya a sect Azdariyya: “They say that he who was the father of Hasan and Husein was

[72] not the (real) Ali. He was rather a man called Ali al-Azdarî. But the Ali who is an Imam has no children, as he is the Creator." I. H.'s statement contradicts the assertion of Shahr. 144<sup>5</sup> (comp. Haarbrücker II, 413), Iji 21, 348, see de Sacy II, 5 559, that the Nuṣeiriyya (and Ishākiyya) worshipped the children of Ali as well. The modern Nuṣeiriyya catechism (ZDMG. III, 305) also recognizes this relationship of Ali in his capacity as man.

— L. 8. This is a reflex of the belief in Docetism, p. 30.

10 — L. 13. In his polemic against the Sabâ'iyya, who believe that a devil was killed in Ali's stead, Isfr. 56<sup>a</sup> uses the same argument: **وَيَزَعُونَ أَنَّ الَّذِي قُتِلَهُ أَبِنُ مُلْكَمَ كَانَ شَيْطَانًا وَمَنْ قُتِلَ شَيْطَانًا كَانَ حَمُودًا فَكَيْفَ يَلْعَنُهُ.**

[73] 73, note 2. The addition in L. Br is characteristic of I. H.'s 15 Zâhirite standpoint.

— L. 3. See Text p. 34<sup>11</sup> and Comm. p. 13<sup>11</sup> ff.

— L. 4. The words enclosed in quotation marks make the impression of a citation from some Sufi author. Perhaps it would have been more correct to translate **بعض** as "one": 20 "one of them adds."

— L. 6 f. The name of this Sûfi is Abû Sa'îd Abû'l-Kheir, as I. H. expressly states, with two *kunyas* joined together; de Sacy, *Journal des Savants* 1821, p. 725 gives the same form of the name. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 25 New York 1906, writes consistently Abû Sa'îd *bnu Abî'l-Kheir* (see passages in his index). The same Dozy, *Isl.* 320, Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* I, 186, note 3 (from Ibn Abî Uṣeibi'a, ed. Müller II, 9<sup>1</sup>).

Abû Sa'îd was born December 7, 967 and died January 12, 30 1049. He was a contemporary of Avicenna (980–1037)—he is said to have been his friend, Goldziher, *ibidem*<sup>1</sup>—and consequently of I. H. (Text 73<sup>6</sup>). According to Dozy, however, *ib.* (=Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 66), he founded a monastery (Khânkah) in Khorâsân as early as in the year 200/815. But the date is no 35 doubt incorrect.

The Sufis regard him as the originator of their doctrine. De Sacy *ib.* thinks that this is unhistorical.

<sup>1</sup> He is buried by his side, in Hamadan. See the picture of their tombs in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present* (New York 1906), p. 167.

Abû Sa‘id was a famous Rubâ‘î poet, Browne, *ib.* 261 ff. [73] Even now his Rubâ‘îs are believed to have a magic power. They are recited a certain definite number of times as prayers for forgiveness of sins, for rain, etc.<sup>1</sup>

On his spiritual conception of the religious obligations comp. 5 Browne, *ib.* p. 268.

— L. 9. On the prohibition of silk see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, sub voce Dress.

— L. 21 ff. The belief in a written will (نُصُّ) of the Prophet bequeathing the Imamate to Ali is the cardinal tenet of the 10 Imamites in contradistinction from the Zeidites; see Introduction p. 22, Shahr. 122 ff., Iji 353, Makr. 351, IKhald. I, 356. On the reflex of this struggle in the Ḥadîth see Goldziher, *Muh. St. II*, 115 ff.

74, l. 4. On the name Rawâfid̄ see Appendix A. 15

— L. 9. On Zeid see Shahr. 116. He was a pupil of Wâsil [74] b. ‘Atâ, the founder of the Mu‘tazila.

— L. 13. See p. 22.

— L. 15. Ali’s voluntary concession of the Imamate to the three first Caliphs is taught, according to Shahr. 121<sup>a</sup>, by the 20 Sâlihiyya, the adherents of al-Hasan b. Sâlih (p. 130 f.), and the Butriyya, the followers of a certain al-Abtar. Bagd. 10<sup>a</sup> applies the name Butriyya to both sects. They accordingly considered Abû Bekr and ‘Omar legitimate Imams. Suleimân b. Jarîr (p. 136<sup>b</sup> ff.) agreed with them on this point, but differed from them 25 regarding ‘Othman. Suleimân declared him an infidel, while the others reserved their opinion concerning him (Shahr., Bagd.). — Kashi 152 applies the appellation Butriyya to the adherents of several men who held the same views on the Imamate.

Al-Abtar, however, is not mentioned by him<sup>2</sup>:  
البترية هم اصحاب :  
كثير النوا والحسن بن صالح بن بن (sic) يحيى وسالم

<sup>1</sup> Zhukovski in the *Memoires (Zapiski) of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archeological Society*, XIII (1900), p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> See following note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 130<sup>30</sup>. — Makr. 352<sup>29</sup> curiously connects the two men

البترية  
أتباع الحسن بن صالح بن كثير الابتر .

[74] (sic) ابن ابى حفصة والحكم بن عتبة وسلمة بن كهيل وابو المقدام ثايت (sic) الحداد وهم الذين دعوا الى ولایة على رضى الله عنه ثم خلطوها بولایة ابى بكر وعمر ويتبعون لهما امامتهما ويبغضون عثمان وطلحة والزبیر وعاشرة ويرون الخروج مع بطون ولد على بن ابى طالب.

5

— Note 6. The word **مقالة** in the sense required here is not found in the dictionaries. It obviously stands here for “heterodox view or belief, heresy.”<sup>1</sup> The word is frequently found in the kindred literature. Thus I. H. at the very beginning of his *Milal* Ed. I, 1<sup>7</sup> says: The previous writers on the same subject omitted “many of the strongest objections of the adherents of, makālāt, heterodox views.” IV, 188<sup>20</sup>: ذكر بعض مقالة

من جمع مقالات المنتهين الى الاسلام by some (or one) of the compilers of the heterodox views of those who (wrongly) consider themselves Muslims.” Comp. also IV, 189<sup>3</sup>; III, 23<sup>4</sup> and often. Shahr. uses the word in the same sense: 1<sup>5</sup>; 60<sup>1</sup> the heresiologists, (Hāji Khalfa VI, 117, 118). اصحاب المقالات Masudi V, 473 similarly refers to the المصنفون في المقالات كتب المقالات. His well-known, unfortunately lost, work bore the title الكتاب في المقالات في المقالات في الدين. It appears from this as well as from Ed. I, 1<sup>4</sup> and Shahr. 2<sup>18</sup> that مقالات ديانات is contrasted with “the religious (and legitimate) views.”

— L. 19. See Text 30<sup>5</sup>, 75<sup>3</sup>.—The name of this theologian is subject to a great many variations. It appears most frequently in the form الحسن بن صالح بن حمی, the latter name also in the form of حمی variously pointed as جنی and حبی; see the readings Text 30, note 2; 79 n. 1; IAth. in the index; Masudi V, 474 and VI, 24 (comp. p. 490; the editors make of it يحيی).—الحسن بن صالح بن يحيی I. H.

<sup>1</sup> Freytag records a slightly similar significance of the word from Golius: “opinio, sententia.”

calls him *promiscue* al-Hasan b. Sâlih (b. Hayy), Text 30<sup>7</sup>, 74<sup>19</sup> [74] (note 10), 75 n. 1, and al-Hasan b. Hayy, 74<sup>23,26</sup>, 75<sup>2</sup>, 79<sup>18</sup>. This peculiar circumstance is rendered intelligible by the fact that Hayy or, more exactly, Ḥayyān is identical with Sâlih; see Tab. III, 2516<sup>12</sup>, 2517<sup>3</sup> (and notes), Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* 9<sup>31</sup>. *Fîhr.* 5 178<sup>10</sup>, however, calls his father Sâlih *bnu* Hayy.

Al-Hasan, with the Kunya Abū 'Abdallah, was a member of the Thaur Hamdân (Bagd. 10<sup>a</sup>, comp. Isfr. 9<sup>a</sup>, l. 8).<sup>1</sup> His daughter was married to 'Īsa, the son of Zeid b. Ali, the founder of the Zeidiyya. Together with his son-in-law, who 10 was pursued by the Caliph Mahdî, he was compelled to hide in Kufa for seven years. He died in the same city; the year of his death is variously given as 167, 168 and 169; see Wüstenfeld, *Register*, sub voce, Tab. ib., *Fîhr.* ib., *Dahabî*, *Huffâz* V, 45. He was famous for his piety, see especially *Dahabî*. 15 Muslim in his *Sahîh* quotes him as Râwi, while *Bukhârî* mentions him honorably, Bagd. 10<sup>a</sup> (comp. Isfr. 9<sup>a</sup>):

وقد أخرج مسلم بن الحجاج حديث الحسن بن صالح بن حي في مسندة الحبيح ولم يخرج محمد بن اسماعيل البخاري حديثه في الصحيح ولكن قال في كتاب التأريخ الكبير الحسن بن صالح بن حي الكوفي سمع سماك بن حرب ومات سنة سبع وستين ومائة وهو من ثور همدان كنيته أبو عبد الله.

I. H.'s account on al-Hasan's views flagrantly contradicts the statements of the other sources. The latter generally count him among the Zeidiyya, who confine the Imamate to the 25 descendants of Ali or, still narrower, to those of Fâtima (see later p. 132<sup>16</sup> ff.), Shahr. 121, Bagd., Isfr.; IKot. 301 counts him, more vaguely, among the Shi'a. *Fîhr.* 178<sup>20</sup>, who mentions him among the *شيعة الزيدية*, *Kibar الشيعة الزيدية*, registers a book of his entitled "A book on the Imamate of the descendants of Ali by Fâtima."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The South-Arabic tribe Hamdân in 'Irâk adhered to the Alides, Kremer, *Culturgeschichte unter den Chaliften*, II, 144.

<sup>2</sup> The editors (note 16) bring al-Hasan b. Sâlih in connection with the Mu'tazilite sect Sâlihiyya, Iji 340<sup>2</sup>, comp. Shahr. 107. This assumption is inadmissible. Our al-Hasan is rather connected with the Sâlihiyya among the Shiites, Shahr. 120 and the Buteiriyya, Iji 353. Comp. Masudi V, 474 and Comm. p. 129<sup>22</sup> ff.

[74] In contradiction to all these authors, I. H. insists that al-Hasan shared the orthodox view which admits the Imamate “in all the descendants of Fîhr b. Mâlik,” i. e., the Kureish (comp. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* O<sup>11</sup>). One might feel inclined to charge I. H. with the attempt to claim this famous theologian for the Sunna. But it must be remembered that I. H. quotes as his authority an Imamite.—Quite isolated is Masudi’s statement (VI, 25) that he went as far as to admit the Imamate even outside the Kureish.

<sup>10</sup> — L. 22. On Hishâm see p. 65<sup>11</sup> ff.

— L. 23. The book is recorded Fîhr. 175, *Tusy* p. 355, No. 771

[75] 75, l. 4. This is intended to show that al-Hasan considered even these men legitimate Imams. Al-Hasan was also very mild in his opinion about ‘Othmân, see p. 129<sup>10,27</sup>.

— L. 8. I. H. stands quite alone with this assertion. According to all other authorities, including Masudi V, 474, IKhald. I, 357, comp. Kremer. *Ideen* 375, the Zeidiyya restrict the Imamate to the descendants of Fâtima. The Keisâniyya are thus excluded. See Introduction, p. 23 and Comm. p. 35.

— L. 9. Comp. IKhald. ib. The Zeidiyya recognize the Imamate of every descendant of Fâtima

وَبَشَّرَهُ أَن يَكُونُ الْأَمَامَ مِنْهُمْ عَالِمًا رَاهِدًا جَوَادًا سَجَاعًا وَيَخْرُجُ دَاعِيًّا إِلَى اِمَامَتِهِ.

— Note 6. Instead of the enigmatic words of Ed. وَجَبْ سَلْ الْسَّبِيقِ مَعَهُ I would suggest (although with some hesitation) to read وَحْبَ سَلْ الْسَّبِيقِ مَعَهُ “and the love of unsheathing the sword is in him.”

— L. 14. According to IKhald. I, 356, the Imamiyya claim a written will of Ali in favor of Fâtima’s sons.

<sup>30</sup> — L. 20–21. Similarly Shahr. 124<sup>10</sup>: “They (the Imâmiyya) agree as to the transfer of the Imamate down to Ja‘far b. Muhammed as-Şâdik. They disagree as to the person he appointed (Imam) by a written will after him.” See Text 76<sup>2</sup> and Comm. p. 104<sup>25</sup> ff.

<sup>35</sup> — L. 22. On Hishâm b. al-Hakam see p. 65<sup>11</sup> ff.

— Ibidem. On Hishâm b. Sâlim al-Juwâlîkî see Shahr. 141. See also *Fîhr.* 177<sup>24</sup>, note 20, *Tusy* p. 356, No. 772, Kashi 181 ff.—On his anthropomorphic doctrine comp. p. 66<sup>8</sup>.

— L. 23. On Dâwud al-Hawârî see p. 67<sup>32</sup> ff.

[75]

— Ibidem. On Dâwud b. Kathîr ar-Rakkî, from Rakka in Babylonia, see Kashi 256 f. Tûsy No. 281, p. 131 designates him as “weak,” because the “Gulât” quote him as authority for their traditions. Kashi 257 defends him against this charge. <sup>5</sup> He is said to have died about 200<sup>h</sup>, Tûsy *ib.*, comp. Kashi *ib.*

— Ibidem. ‘Ali b. Mansûr is enumerated Shahr. 145 among the writers of the Shi‘a. Masudi VI, 369 calls him an Imamite and a follower of Hishâm b. al-Hakam. He is mentioned in connection with the latter, Kashi 165 ult. See also below l. 22. 10

— Ibidem. On ‘Ali b. Mîtham see p. 60<sup>6</sup> ff.

— L. 24. On ash-Shakkâk see p. 66<sup>14</sup> ff.

— L. 25. On Sheitân at-Tâk see p. 59.

— L. 26. Abû Mâlik al-Hadramî is mentioned Bagd. 21<sup>b</sup> in connection with Ali b. Mîtham, both being styled شیوخ <sup>15</sup> الراویون. *Fîhr.* 177<sup>25</sup> counts him among the dogmatists of the

Shi‘a (من متكلمي الشيعة).<sup>1</sup> Contrary to this, and no doubt incorrectly, Masudi VI, 369 designates him as a radical Khârijite.—He took part, together with most of the other men mentioned in our text, in the famous discussion before the Barmekide 20 Vizier Yahya, Masudi *ib.*; comp. on this discussion Kashi 167 ff.—Abû Mâlik is mentioned, together with Ali b. Mansûr (see above l. 7), Kashi 179 ult. They both belonged to Ja‘far’s circle. They outlived Ja‘far, *ib.*

76, l. 3 and note 1. According to most authorities (quoted 25 Comm. p. 19<sup>37</sup> f.), Ismâ‘il died *before* his father (five years, [76] Blochet 51). The Ismâ‘iliyya remove this difficulty by the assumption that Ja‘far purposely spread the rumor about his death so as to save his life. See the story told Shahr. 146.

— L. 4. These are the Karmatians. See on these Comm. 30 p. 19<sup>32</sup> and p. 79<sup>5</sup>.

— L. 7. These are the Ithnâ‘ashariyya, see p. 78<sup>25</sup>

— L. 10 ff. See on this passage Text p. 48 and Comm. 52 ff.

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<sup>1</sup> ابی ملک الاصفهانی which follows immediately is most probably a dittoigraphy from the next line. The editors identify this name with Abû Mâlik. The difference in the Kunya (Abû Mâlik and Abû ‘Abdallah) as well as in the Nisba (al-Hadramî and al-Isfahâni) speak decidedly against this conjecture.

[76] — L. 20. On the contest about the inheritance see the allusive statement Shahr. 129 and a more elaborate account IBab., *Ithbat* 41 penult. It is natural that Ja'far gets the worst of it.

<sup>5</sup> 77, note 3. I prefer the reading of L. Br **غَمَرْ بَهَا** “People

[77] sneered at her.” See on this expression Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 143 ult. and note 7. The nature of the accusation is not quite clear. Did she become the concubine of al-Hasan b. Ja'far?

<sup>10</sup> — L. 5. I have not been able to find any reference to this Kâtib.—The details set forth here are not found elsewhere.

— L. 8. In the time of Abu'l Maali (wrote about 485<sup>h</sup>) people made pilgrimages to the cellar (sardâb) in which he was said to have disappeared, Blochet 155. Even as late as Ibn <sup>15</sup> Khaldûn a peculiar ceremony connected with this cellar was still in vogue. Comp. the interesting passage, IKhald. I, 359.

— Ibidem (comp. note 7). The same number of years (180) also Ed. IV, 96<sup>5</sup>.

— L. 10. On Mukhtâr see p. 79<sup>17</sup>.—On Keisan and the <sup>20</sup> Keisâniyya p. 33 ff.

— L. 13. Muhammed b. Ismâ'il as-Sayyid al-Himyari was born 105/723 and died 173/789, Brockelmann I, 83. To the sources quoted by Brockelmann add the biography in Dahabi's *Târîkh al-Islâm* (Ms. of Strassburg University Library, not <sup>25</sup> paginated), which is in part closely related to that given in *Fawât al-Wafâyat* I, 24.—On as-Sayyid comp. also the index to this treatise.

— L. 14. Kuthayyir 'Azza, so called because of his love to 'Azza, a girl of the Khuzâ'a tribe, died in 105, the year in <sup>30</sup> which as-Sayyid was born, Brockelmann I, 48.<sup>1</sup>

[78] 78, note 2. The drift of this anecdote is probably this, that, as no decent man shared the views of as-Sayyid, he could only point to a cobbler in Ray as his associate in doctrine.

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<sup>1</sup> The remark in *Agh. Tables* p. 395<sup>a</sup> s.v. **السيد الحميري**: “loué par Kutayyir” is, of course, a misunderstanding. The passage referred to (Agh. VIII, 32) merely states that the verses quoted there in the name of Kuthayyir are ascribed by *others* to as-Sayyid. Comp. *Agh.* VII, 7.

— L. 4. The accusation of forgery, which is certainly more [78] justified than the reciprocal charge of “tabdil” (see p. 61 f.), is often made against the Shiites, see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 111. IAth. (VIII, 21) puts it forcibly as well as briefly: “When the enemies of Islam gave up the hope to uproot it by force they <sup>5</sup> took to inventing false traditions.” The Rawâfid are on this score brought in comparison with the Jews and this comparison is put into the mouth of ash-Sha‘bî (d. 103), *Ikd* 269 (in a briefer form, also in the name of ash-Sha‘bî, *Isfr.* 15<sup>a</sup>), see p. 19<sup>16</sup>. Ash-Sha‘bî, of course, is not responsible for this <sup>10</sup> invidious comparison. The Sunnites in protesting against the Shiitic forgeries found no better spokesman than ash-Sha‘bî, who was revered by the Sunna and at the same time known as a Shiite. It must be noted, however, that, according to *Isfr.* 70<sup>b</sup> penult., the *tertium comparationis* in the analogy between <sup>15</sup> the Rawâfid and the Jews is not the forgery of traditions but “tashbîh,” the anthropomorphic conception of God. The Shiites incline towards “tashbîh” (see, e. g., p. 66<sup>c</sup>) and the latter is regarded as characteristic of Judaism by the Muhammedan theologians. [Cf. Kauffmann, *Attributenlehre* 81.] <sup>20</sup>

The Sunnites answer the Shiitic forgeries with forgeries of their own which are directed against their opponents (Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 117 ff. A few instances can be found *Isfr.* 15<sup>b</sup> f. Some of them are rather clumsy. Thus the Prophet is reported to have ordered Ali to kill the Rawâfid. [See p. 143 ult.] <sup>25</sup>

— L. 6. In the expositions following in *Ed.*, I. H. endeavors to refute the Shiitic view that the Imamate is admissible only in the descendants of Ali. His expositions, however, are of a theological nature and do not offer any historical material.

The author very cleverly points out that the *hadîth* <sup>30</sup> أنت مِنْيَ

<sup>1</sup> بمنزلة هارون من موسى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي which is a standing argument of the Shiites—it is at the same time binding for the Sunnites as being recorded in the two *Sahîhs* (Nawawî, *Tuhâdîb* 438)—proves nothing in favor of Ali, as Joshua, and not Aron, was the successor of Moses.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 50, 119. See Comm. p. 48<sup>29</sup>.

[78] — L. 10. **ذُئْبَل** here and in the passages quoted Comm. p. 7<sup>30</sup> and 9<sup>28</sup> obviously means “Synopsis.” This meaning of the word is not recorded in the dictionaries.

— L. 17. Read **كُفَّارٌ** (misprint).

[79] <sup>5</sup> 79, l. 3. Read **الْمُسَبِّبُ** “who caused” (Nöldeke); correct accordingly Text 80<sup>5</sup>.

— L. 12. This is the opinion of Suleimân b. Jarîr (see l. 21). Comp. Shahr. 119: “The nation committed . . . a sin which does not reach the degree of impiety.” See Iji 353, Makr. 10 352<sup>28</sup> (سَلِيمَان instead of سَلِيمٌ), Masudi V, 474. His party is called Jarîriyya<sup>1</sup>; Isfr. 7<sup>a</sup> calls it Suleimâniyya.

— L. 13. On al-Hasan b. Hayy see p. 130 f.

— L. 18. This is the view of the Jârûdiyya, see p. 22<sup>20</sup> ff.

— L. 20. Comp. a similar utterance Ed. I, 41<sup>2</sup> (directed 15 against the Apostles): “It is not permitted to believe an apostate nor to receive (true) religion from an apostate.”

— L. 21. On at-Tammâr see p. 60<sup>6</sup> f.

[80] 80, l. 2. On Abû Kâmil see p. 76<sup>21</sup> f.

— L. 7. See Text 56<sup>5</sup> ff.

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<sup>1</sup> Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75 n. 2.

#### CORRECTIONS.

*Introduction*, p. 13 l. 3 from below: *Joseph* is oversight for *Samuel*. Comm. p. 15, n. 3. Al-Warrâk is probably identical with Abû 'Isa Muhammed b. Hârûn al-Warrâk, of Bagdad, quoted by Mas'ûdî, *Murâj* VII, 236.

— Page 78 l. 15. Comp. also IKot. p. 106: **عظيْم البطْن**.

## APPENDIX A.

### *The term “Rawāfiḍ.”<sup>1</sup>*

THE term *Rawāfiḍ* which figures so conspicuously in the literature bearing on Shiism as well as in the texts of Ibn Hazm can lay claim to a long and eventful history. The word has undergone numerous changes and modifications which are sometimes of so fluctuating a nature as to defy all exact definitions. In the following an attempt is made—for it cannot be more than an attempt—to trace the principal stages in this development and to classify the various, sometimes contradictory applications of this word.

*Rawāfiḍ*, in the collective singular *Rāfiḍa*,<sup>2</sup> occasionally *Arfād*<sup>3</sup> and *Rāfiḍān*,<sup>4</sup> in the singular *Rāfiḍi*,<sup>5</sup> originally signifies “an army, or a military force . . . which has deserted its leader” (Lane), in other words “deserters,” or “traitors.” It is obviously meant as a nickname, more exactly, an abusive nickname, a *nomen odiosum*.<sup>6</sup> Its application, in consequence,

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations under which the sources are quoted in this appendix are the same as in the body of the article.

<sup>2</sup> The form رفضة which may only represent a different spelling of رافضة is quoted by Goldziher, ZDMG, 36, 281, n. 1, and *Shi'a*, p. 511<sup>6</sup>. Another example is recorded by Dozy *sub voce* (from Nuweiri).

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Tâj-al-‘Arûs (see Lane s.v.), Dozy s.v. and Goldziher, ZDMG, 36, 280, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 140, n. 3, and Comm. p. 106<sup>18</sup>, Goldziher, *Shi'a* 460<sup>6</sup>. The first two examples occur in poetry, the third in rhymed prose.

<sup>5</sup> Whether the variant الرافض (Text 63, n. 2) represents an actual usage or is merely a scribal error is difficult to determine.

<sup>6</sup> Muḳaddasi (p. 36<sup>16</sup>) counts the Rawāfiḍ among the sects which are designated by a nickname: فاما الملقبة فالرافض والمجبرة والمرجنة والشّكاك. The abusive nature of the name is evident from the remark immediately following: واما الممتدحة فأهل السنة والجماعة وأهل العدل والتوحيد الح.

largely depends on the mental attitude of the person using it. Hence its preëminently polemical character.<sup>1</sup>

Historically the name is connected with Zeid, the great-grandson of Ali, the originator of the Zeidiyya. Tabarī<sup>2</sup> has preserved an elaborate account of the incident to which the word owes its origin.

Zeid b. Ali b. al-Husein b. Ali b. Abī Tālib had been encouraged by the people of Kufa to assert his claims to the throne of the Omeyyads. Relying on their promises of assistance, he organizes in the year 122<sup>b</sup> an open rebellion which is to take place on a prearranged day in Kufa. The governor Yūsuf b. ‘Omar receives timely information and takes energetic measures to nip the rebellion in the bud by getting hold of its organizer. In this moment of danger the leaders of the rebellious Kufiotes, who had always been noted for their fickleness of character, gather around Zeid to cross-examine him as to the legitimacy of the first two Caliphs, Abū Bekr and ‘Omar. “Zeid<sup>s</sup> said: ‘May Allah have mercy on them both and grant them forgiveness! I have never heard anyone of my family repudiating them<sup>4</sup> or speaking of them otherwise than favor-

<sup>1</sup> The Shiites never designate themselves as Rawāfiq. According to Mukaddasī (p. 142, n. 6), they apply this word to their opponents. As-Sayyid protests against the affront implied in it (p. 140, n. 3). The expression has, it seems, always (see, however, p. 151, n. 5) carried with it a derogatory meaning. The term *Mu’tazila*, “secessionists” or “schismatics”, affords, both as regards origin (see Shahr. 33<sup>11</sup> and the other sources) and subsequent development, an interesting parallel to Rawāfiq. The Mu’tazila themselves prefer the designation *Ashāb* (or *ahl*) *al-adl wa’t-tau-hid* (Shahr. 29 bottom, cf. preceding note, and *Zeid*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mu’taz.* p. 2). Bagd. 40<sup>a</sup>, 137<sup>a</sup> uses the word polemically: القدّة.

<sup>3</sup> المُعْنَيَةُ عَنِ الْحَقِّ, while Zeid. Mu’taz., who is himself a Mu’tazilite, endeavors to find for the name a different and more complimentary derivation.

<sup>4</sup> II, 1698 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Tab. II, 1699. We quote the passage *verbatim*, as it strikingly illustrates the fundamental points of difference between the two most important sections of the Shi'a.

التَّبَرِيُّ عَنْ (مِنْ) الشَّيْخَيْنِ يَتَبَرَّأُ مِنْهُمَا<sup>4</sup>. The expression (من) الشَّيْخَيْنِ is the technical term in this connection. The opposite attitude is designated as التَّرْضِيُّ عَنِ الشَّيْخَيْنِ. See Goldziher, ZDMG. 36, 280 n. 2, Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33 n. 2, and the references quoted in the course of this appendix.

bly.' They said: 'Why, then, do you seek the blood of this family (the Omeyyads), if they have not (illegally) seized upon your throne and wrenched it from your hands?' He replied to them: 'The most I can admit in the question you are discussing is that we (the family of Ali) were the worthiest among men of the Prophet's throne and that the people appropriated it in preference to us and pushed us away from it. Yet, this, in our opinion, does not constitute apostasy on their part. They<sup>1</sup> were Caliphs, they were just in their dealings with the people and acted in accordance with the Book and Tradition.' They said: 'If those did not wrong you, then these (the Omeyyads) have not wronged you either. Why, then, should you call (us) to fight people who are not doing you any wrong?' He answered: 'These here are not the same as those. These here do wrong me and you and themselves. For we only call you to Allah's Book and the Prophet's Tradition (so that) the traditions be revived and the innovations extinguished. If you follow us, you will be blessed. If not,—I am not responsible for you!' Thereupon they withdrew from him, violating their oath of allegiance, and declared: 'the Imam has died!', henceforward maintaining that Abū Ja'far Muhammed b. Ali, the brother of Zeid b. Ali, was the (legitimate) Imam. The latter, however, had died in the meantime, but his son Ja'far b. Muhammed was alive. So they declared: 'Ja'far is now our Imam after his father. He is the worthiest of the Imamate after his father. We will not follow Zeid b. Ali, for he is no Imam.' *Zeid thereupon called them Rāfiḍa.* At present,<sup>2</sup> however, they maintain that it was al-Muğīra who called them *Rāfiḍa* at the time when they had withdrawn from him."

The last sentence is highly significant. The partisans of Zeid apparently repented their faithless action which resulted

<sup>1</sup> Abū Bekr and 'Omar. It is not clear whether 'Othman is included. The attitude of the Zeidiyya toward the latter is vacillating. See Comm. p. 129<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> سبق الإمام. On this meaning of سبق see Tabārī glossary *sub voce* and compare the next sentence.

<sup>3</sup> الْيَوْمَ. Codex B omits it. The narrator was a contemporary of Zeid. See later p. 141.

in his pitiful death. They felt the scathing shame of having been branded as “deserters” or “traitors” by so distinguished and pious a descendant of Ali. Shrewd as they were, they pretended that this name was hung on them by al-Mugîra b. Sa‘îd<sup>1</sup> under whom they had risen shortly before and from whom they had betimes withdrawn.<sup>2</sup> To have been thus nicknamed by so rank a heretic constituted, in their opinion, a title of honor.<sup>3</sup>

Tabarî’s derivation of the word from the unfortunate uprising of Zeid b. Ali in 122 is almost universally confirmed by the Arabic authorities.<sup>4</sup> So all the national lexicographers (see the quotations in Lane *sub voce*)<sup>5</sup>; Bagd. 10<sup>b</sup> f.<sup>6</sup>; Isfr. 9<sup>a</sup>; Shahr.

<sup>1</sup> The text merely gives *al-Mugîra*. But if this is to have any meaning, it can only be taken as referring to al-Mugîra b. *Sa‘îd*, Text 59 f., Comm. 79. This identification is also assumed in the index to Tabarî. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 96 n. 1, substitutes, without justification, the name of al-Mugîra b. *Shu‘ba*. It is difficult to account for his name in this connection.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Text 60<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The derogatory character of the word (comp. p. 137 n. 6) is aptly illustrated by a verse of as-Sayyid, Agh. VII, 17. The latter had been accused by the poet Sawwâr, in the presence of the Caliph Mansûr, of being a fanatical Shiite. As-Sayyid replies to Sawwâr in a scathing poem in which he says :

وَكُنْ عَلَى رَغْمِكَ الْرَّافِضُوْ نَ لِأَهْلِ الْضَّلَالِةِ وَالْمُنَكَرِ

“We, however, are—whether you like it or not—men who ‘desert’ people of error and ungodly works.” This apparently means: You may nickname us “deserters.” But we are such only because we “desert” Abû Bekr and ‘Omar who disregarded the Prophet’s will and usurped the Caliphate rightly belonging to Ali. See later p. 142 f. Barbier de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique* 1874, p. 210 misunderstood the verse.

<sup>4</sup> A few (see later p. 142, n. 6) add another explanation which is no doubt secondary.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. also Nawâwi on Muslim’s *Sahîh* I, 51.

فَفَارِقُوهُ عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ حَتَّىٰ قَالَ لَهُمْ رَّفَضُتُمُونِي

<sup>6</sup> Comp. fol. 11<sup>a</sup>: ومن يوْمَئِذٍ سُمُوا رَافِضَةً

قَالَ عَبْدُ الْقَاهِرِ رَوَافِضُ الْكُوفَةِ

مَوْصُوفُونَ بِالْغَدْرِ وَالْبُخْلِ وَقَدْ سَارَ الْمَتَنَّ فِيهِمَا حَتَّىٰ قَيْلَ أَبْخَلَ

مِنْ كُوفَىٰ وَأَغْدَرَ مِنْ كُوفَىٰ.

17, 116; IKhald. I, 357; Makr. 351<sup>8</sup> (=de Sacy XLVIII, II, 588)<sup>1</sup>, and others. Mukaddasi, who records various applications of our term, distinctly states<sup>2</sup>: “with the Zeidiyya (it signifies) those who denied the Caliphate of Zeid b. Ali, and this is the original meaning.”

It is well known that historical incidents quoted by Muhammadan authorities for the purposes of philological interpretation cannot always be relied upon, as they are not infrequently manufactured for the occasion. But no such scepticism is justified in our case. Tabari’s report is derived from *Abū Mikhnaf*, who was a contemporary of Zeid, lived in the same city and is the best authority for the early history of Islam, especially in ‘Irāk.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the incident has every internal evidence in its favor. Zeid b. Ali was the pupil of Wāsil b. ‘Atā, the founder of the Mu’tazila.<sup>4</sup> Like the latter, he looked at the problem of the Imamate from a rational point of view.<sup>5</sup> To Zeid and his followers the Zeidiyya the Imamate was essentially a question of personal qualification.<sup>6</sup> They denied the existence of a written will<sup>7</sup> and, while maintaining the superiority of Ali, they justly enough admitted that the first two eminently successful Caliphs were legitimate rulers.<sup>8</sup> To Zeid’s opponents the Imamate was exclusively a question of birth. It was hereditary in its very nature and bequeathed to Ali by the Prophet. Accordingly, Abū Bekr and ‘Omar were usurpers and, disregarding, as they did, the express will of Allah’s Prophet,

<sup>1</sup> Who also quotes the other explanation, p. 142, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 142, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See on this historian Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Preface.

<sup>4</sup> See Comm. 11<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Iji 297.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Text 75<sup>9</sup> and Comm.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Introd. p. 22 and Text 74<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Makr. 352<sup>23</sup> sums up Zeid’s standpoint in the words يفضل عليّاً. على أبي بكر وعمر مع القول بِإمامتهما وكان زيد أيضاً مع قوله 2. Comp. the quotation in Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 38, n. 2 بِأَفْضَلِيَّةٍ عَلَى الْمُحَاجَةِ يَرِى أَنَّ بَيْعَةَ الشَّيْخِيْنِ صَحِيْحَةً. إِمَامَةُ الْمُفَضُّلِ “the Imamate of the Inferior.” See on this important point Shahr. 116 and Ibn Hazm, Ed. IV, 163 ff.

they are to be looked upon as apostates.<sup>1</sup> Thus the “repudiation of the two Elders” became the equivalent and complement of the recognition of the claims of the Alids. It was the propelling force of all Shiitic uprisings and it is but natural that the same question formed the point of issue between the legitimists of Kufa and the rationalistic and fair-minded Zeid at the moment when they were both about to take up arms against the ruling dynasty.

Thus we may consider it certain that the word *Rawâfiḍ* originated in Kufa in the year of the Hijra 122,<sup>2</sup> in connection with the rebellion of Zeid b. Ali.<sup>3</sup>

The specific characteristic of the *Rawâfiḍ*, of those who deserted Zeid and were termed by him “deserters,” was the negative attitude towards Abû Bekr and ‘Omar, and, in a lesser degree, of ‘Othman and the other Companions,<sup>4</sup>—an attitude which was not a mere theoretic notion but soon grew into violent hatred and vented itself in the action—believed to be meritorious—of سب العَحَابَة “the public denunciation of the Companions.”<sup>5</sup> Hence *Rafḍ* or *Taraffuḍ*, i. e. “to act as *Râfiḍa*” became the designation for this hostile attitude toward the “two Elders” and the Companions, *Rawâfiḍ* and its parallel forms the name of those who maintain this attitude.<sup>6</sup> Thus

<sup>1</sup> See Introd. 22 and Text 79<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Ash-Sha’bî’s (died 103) reference to the *Râfiḍa* (Comm. p. 19<sup>16</sup>) is no doubt apocryphal. This scathing criticism of the *Râfiḍa* is attributed to him purposely because he was known to be favorably inclined towards Shiism. The sentence quoted ibidem 19<sup>20</sup> يهود رواضن هذه الامّة

is attributed Isfr. 15<sup>a</sup> to the Prophet himself, whilst according to ash-Sha’bî (see p. 144<sup>3</sup>), the *Rawâfiḍ* were even worse than the Jews. Again, according to Shahr. 9, the Prophet compared the *Rawâfiḍ* with the *Christians*.

<sup>3</sup> Whether Zeid gave his opponents that name or it was given to them by others in connection with that event is quite immaterial to us.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 139, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> On “*Sabb*” see Goldziher, *Shi‘a* 455 ff. and ZDMG. 36, 280. For some very characteristic instances see Comm. 28, n. 1 (quotation from *Mirza*), 42<sup>4</sup> ff., 65<sup>1</sup> ff. and Goldziher, *Shi‘a* 456 middle.

<sup>6</sup> This, in our opinion, accounts for the additional explanation of “*Rawâfiḍ*” as رضوا ابا بكر و عمر, as those who deserted Abû Bekr and ‘Omar, so *Ikd* (cf. p. 148). Makrizî 351<sup>8</sup>, who defines (ib.) the

Bagd 12<sup>b</sup> introduces with the words **وقال كثيير في رَفْضَه** the following two verses as characteristic of “Rafḍ”:

**الْغَلَةُ فِي حُبِّ عَلَىٰ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ وَبُغْضُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ**

Rawāfiḍ as quotes both explanations: 1) those who “deserted the opinion” of Zeid; 2) those who “deserted the opinion” of the Companions in electing Abū Bekr, cf. de Sacy XLVIII, II, 588.—Very significant—although not unmistak-

**وَالرَّوْافِضُ عِنْدَ الشِّيَعَةِ مَنْ**

for which Codex C reads more elaborately: **أَخْرَىٰ خِلَافَةَ عَلَىٰ وَعِنْدَ غَيْرِهِمْ مَنْ نَفَا خِلَافَةَ الْعَمَرَيْنَ**

**وَالرَّفْضُ عِنْدَ الشِّيَعَةِ تَأْخِيرٌ**

**خِلَافَةَ عَلَىٰ وَقَدْيِيمٍ غَيْرَهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعِنْدَ الرِّزِيدِيَّةِ مَنْ نَفَا خِلَافَةَ**

**رِزِيدٍ وَهَذَا هُوَ الْأَصْلُ وَعِنْدَ غَيْرِهِمْ مَنْ نَفَا خِلَافَةَ الْعَمَرَيْنَ**

**وَهَذَا مَوْضِعٌ إِلَّا أَنَّهُ الْمَعْرُوفُ**. We are thus presented with three

derivations of the name: 1) according to the Shiites, the name applies to those who gave the precedence to someone else over Ali in the Caliphate, i. e. who elected Abū Bekr (and ‘Omar) instead of Ali. 2) According to the Zeidiyya, it applies to those who rejected Zeid’s Caliphate (in 122), 3) According to the others (i. e. the Sunnites), Rawāfiḍ are those who rejected the Caliphate of Abū Bekr and ‘Omar. Historically, the first and third explanation are identical: they both assign an earlier origin to the name, deriving it from the events following Muhammed’s death. They are substantially identical with the second explanation quoted by Maḳrīzī. The second derivation of Muḳaddasī assigns the name to the year 122. This explanation is, according to Mukaddasī, the original one, while the third, although the ordinary one, is apocryphal. From the expositions in the text it will have become obvious why the latter explanation had become so favorite. From the remark above quoted we also learn the fact—otherwise unknown—that the Shi'a,—in this case the Imāmiyya, see later p. 158,—applied the same nickname to their adversaries. This apparently means that the Rawāfiḍ, smarting under the offence implied in that term (comp. p. 140), endeavor to *explain* it differently: i. e. as those who deserted *Ali*, the opposition to Ali being objectionable even in the eyes of many Sunnites.—Another example of a polemical explanation of Rawāfiḍ is found in a ḥadīth (apocryphal, of course) quoted Isfr. 15<sup>b</sup> penult: (sic) **وَرَوَىٰ عَنْ بْنِ عَيَّاسٍ** (رضي الله عنه) **أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ قَالَ سَيَكُونُ فِي**

بِرْتُ<sup>١</sup> إِلَى الْأَلَّا مِنْ أَدْنِ أَرْدِي<sup>٢</sup> \* وَمِنْ دِينِ الْخَوَارِجِ أَجْمَعِينَ  
وَمِنْ عَمْرَ بَرْتُ<sup>٣</sup> وَمِنْ عَنْبِيقِ<sup>٤</sup> \* عَدَّا دُعَى<sup>٥</sup> أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ<sup>٦</sup>

In a dietum quoted Isfr. 15<sup>a</sup> in the name of ash-Sha'bî (d. 103)<sup>7</sup> the Rawâfi'd are characterized thus: **الروافض شر من اليهود والنصارى فإن اليهود سئلوا عن أخيار ملتهم فقالوا اصحاب موسى عليه السلام والنصارى سئلوا عن اخيار ملتهم فقالوا الحواريّون [15<sup>b</sup>] الذين كانوا مع عيسى عليه السلام وسئلوا الرافضة عن شر هذه الأمة فقالوا اصحاب محمد.**

"These here are *Râfîda*, those opposite them are Sunnites . . . the Sunnites are pleased with<sup>8</sup> Abû Bekr and 'Omar, the

آخر الزمان قوم لهم ذبى (??; = *Mahdî* ??) يقال لهم الرؤافض  
يرفضون الاسلام فاقتلوهم فانهم مشركون The same *hadîth* with  
a different *isnâd* and a few variations is quoted Goldziher, *Shi'a* 444.

<sup>1</sup> بَرِّيَ seems to be more archaic than the ordinarily used form تَبِّرِيًّا. Thus, according to al-Asma'i (died 215, quoted *Lisān* sub voce رَوَافِضٌ). Abra' from the shaykhs (روافض الشيَّخِين) was told by Zeid (روافض). *Kāmūs* (s. v. تَبِّرِيًّا) says instead تَبِّرِيًّا من الشيَّخِين.

<sup>2</sup> Arwa was 'Othman's mother.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. ~~L~~ : corrected according to Agh. VII, 24 (see n. 6).

<sup>4</sup> i. e. Abû Bekr.

<sup>5</sup> sic!—“was proclaimed.”

<sup>6</sup> *Agh.* VII, 24<sup>11</sup> ascribes these two verses to as-Sayyid, who is said to have uttered them with his last breath. The second verse appears here in a considerably different form :

ومن فعل بيريدب ومن فعييل \* غداة دعا امير المؤمنين

The elimination of Abû Bekr's and 'Omar's name is certainly not accidental. See on Abû'l-Faraj al-İsfahânî's attitude towards Shiism, and especially towards as-Sayyid, Goldziher, *Shi'a* 441 f.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 142, n. 2. Although apocryphal, the utterance illustrates the meaning attached to "Rawâfid" by those who invented it.

<sup>8</sup> يفترضون عن. Cf. p. 138, n. 4.

Râfida denounce them" (Dozy sub voce **فضة** from Nuweirî).

Characteristic is the anecdote Agh. XVIII, 59<sup>4</sup>: the poet Di'bîl (died 246<sup>h</sup>), who is an enthusiastic Shiite,<sup>1</sup> denounces a descendant of Zubeir, the son of Ṣafiyya bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's aunt. The Kâdi 'Amr b. Ḥumeid interposes on the plea that this is equal to insulting a close relative of the Prophet. Di'bîl retorts: "I have never seen anyone more stupid than thyself, except the one who hath appointed thee . . . . Thy mind can conceive that I am a Râfidî because of calumniating Ṣafiyya the daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭtalib . . . Is calumniating Ṣafiyya a religious tenet of the Râfida?" Di'bîl shrewdly implies that other personalities, far more important than Ṣafiyya, are the target of the Rawâfid's hatred.

Because of this "denunciation of the Companions" the Rawâfid are nicknamed "Sabbâbûn," "denouncers."<sup>2</sup>

To realize the full significance of this usage, we must bear in mind the fact so lucidly expounded by Goldziher,<sup>3</sup> that the Shi'a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Agh. XVIII, 29.

<sup>2</sup> **وَافْضُ سَبَابُونْ وَكَانُوا أَرْفَاصَا سَبَابِينْ** ZDMG. 36, 280, n. 1.—This general aspect of our term is to be thought of, whenever it is found difficult to assign it to any of the more definitely circumscribed categories to be mentioned in the course of this article.—Muḳaddasî affords us two interesting examples derived from his personal experience. While travelling in Irâk, where there are "Gâliya, exaggerating their love for Mu'âwiya" (p. 126, l. 14 and note *m*; cf. Comm. 12<sup>8</sup>), our author hears in the principal mosque of Wâsit a man reciting a *hadîth* (forged, of course) in favor of Mu'âwiya. He remonstrates. The man shouts

**حُذْوَاهُذَا الرَّاغِضِيَّ** and the mob advances to attack him (p. 126). Similarly, in Ispahan, which is equally distinguished by its "Guluww for Mu'âwiya" (cf. also Goldziher, *Shi'a* 495, n. 3) the author protests against a man who denounces Ali and is angrily pointed at as **هَذَا رَجُلُ الرَّاغِضِيَّ** (p. 399<sup>13</sup>). This does not necessarily imply that "orthodoxi fanatici vocant quoque orthodoxos moderatos" (Glossary to Muḳaddasî s.v. **رَاغِضٌ**), but simply means that the people seeing that he objects to Mu'âwiya or that he defends Ali, *think* that he is a "repudiator" of the Companions. In point of fact, Muḳaddasî is very favorably inclined toward the Zeidiyya (see p. 158).

<sup>3</sup> ZDMG. 36, 280 f., 50, 111 f., *Shi'a* 460 ff., *Muh. St.* II, 110 f. Cf. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33.

but slowly and gradually developed into an independent religious organism and at first represented rather a different current within Islam than a separate sect. Shiism (*Tashayyu'*) in itself, i. e. attachment to Ali and the Alidic family, is, from the Sunnitic point of view, by no means objectionable, nay, is even commendable; the word *Shi'a* in itself does not imply any heresy.<sup>1</sup> It does become objectionable when the attachment to Ali is coupled with the denunciation of the Companions, in the first place of Abû Bekr and 'Omar.<sup>2</sup> Hence, even in later times, *Rawâfiḍ* is frequently used side by side with and at the same time as distinguished from *Shi'a*, the former denoting the radical and improper expression of Alidic sympathy, the latter the moderate and permissible one. Thus Ibn Hajar al-'Askelâni

كان ابواه فاضلاً  
متشيّعاً من غير سبٍ ولا غلوٍ فنشأ ولدُه غالباً في الرّفض.<sup>3</sup>  
This differentiation has even found expression in a *hadîth*, quoted Isfr. 16<sup>a</sup>: (sic) عمر رضي الله عنه ان رسول  
الله صلعم قال يا علىٌ تكون انت في الجنة وشيعتك يكونون في  
الجنة وسيكونون بعده قوم يدعون ولأيتك<sup>5</sup> يدعون الروافض  
فاذهم إن وجدتهم فاقتتلهم فانهم مشركون<sup>6</sup> فقال علىٌ وما  
علامتهم يا رسول الله فقال لا يكون لهم جماعة ولا جماعة  
يشرّمون ابا بكر وعمر

<sup>1</sup> *Shi'a* 443, n. 3. Cf. Snouck-Hurgronje ib. 32, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the characteristic utterance Damîrî's (quoted *Shi'a* ib.) يتشيّعاً حسناً يقول بتفضيل أهل البيت من غير تنقیص لأحد من الحکابة. See other examples quoted *ib.*

<sup>3</sup> ZDMG. 36, 280 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly the well-known Shiite Zurâra b. A'yun is said to have been أحد الغلاة في الرّفض (Makr. 353<sup>10</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> Ms. ولا يمك.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. the *hadîth* quoted at the end of p. 142, n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. the *hadîth* quoted Goldziher, *Shi'a* 447<sup>14</sup>: فيخرجون من الجماعات ويتربّون في الجماعات.

are sent to Paradise, while those partisans who cannot refrain from denouncing Abū Bekr and 'Omar<sup>1</sup> deserve extermination.<sup>2</sup> In consequence, الشيعة والرافضة for the moderate and radical wing of Alidic sympathizers is an expression often to be met with. Several examples can be gleaned from the abundant polemical material collected by Goldziher in his *Shi'a*: 453 ult., 486 l. 6, 511 l. 6,<sup>3</sup> 512 l. 17 and penult. A further instance may be added from IKhald. III, 74. Speaking of the later Sūfis, Ibn

<sup>1</sup> The hadith is shrewdly enough transmitted through the son of 'Omar.

<sup>2</sup> Goldziher, *Shi'a* 444, quotes a ḥadīth which is obviously identical with ours. But it is undoubtedly expurgated and almost entirely shorn of its pro-Alidic—one might almost say, Zeiditic—tendency. The words

تكون انت في الجنة وشيعتك يكونون في الجنة are left out and the

Prophet's reply is more in keeping with strict orthodoxy : يعْظِمُونَك : بما ليس فيك ويطعنون على السلف . In the latter form the Prophet also protests against those who, like the Zeidiyya, acknowledge Abū Bekr and 'Omar but reject the other Companions.

<sup>3</sup> In this passage the author (a Persian Shiite of the eleventh century of the Hijra) incidentally explains the origin of the word رافضة (or, as he spells it, رفضة, cf. 187 n. 2) in a manner different from the explana-

ونَحْنُ وَمَنْ لَا يَكَافِرْ : . He says, *Shi'a* 511<sup>12</sup> ff.

عَقْلَهُ وَوْجْدَانَهُ ذَعْلَمَ عَلَمًا يَقِينًا قَطْعَيْنَا بَانَ هُؤُلَاءِ الْجَوَارِيِّ  
 وَالْمَوَالِيِّ وَالْجَهَدِيِّنِ فِي مَذْهَبِ أَهْلِ الْبَيْتِ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ  
 كَانُوا أَخْصَّ بِهِمْ وَاعْلَمُ بِأَصْوْلَاهُمْ وَفَرُوعَهُمْ لِأَنَّ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ أَبْصَرُ  
 بِمَا فِي الْبَيْتِ وَأَنَّهُمْ سُمِّوْا بِهِذَا السَّبِبِ شِيَعَةً وَرَفْضَةً .

“He and those who do not defy their reason or senses are truly and positively aware that these maid servants and male servants (of the Alids) and the students of the doctrine of the Prophet's family were nearer to the latter (cf. Goldziher ib. 508, n. 6) and better acquainted with their fundamental and derivative principles. For the Prophet's family is best aware of what is in the Family. It was for this reason that they (apparently referring to the people mentioned at the beginning of the quotation) were called *Shi'a* and *Rāfiqa*.” *Shi'a*=partisans of Ali. *Rāfiqa* seems to convey to the author's mind an essentially *positive* meaning : intense devotion to the Alid family, while originally this meaning was merely the complement of the negative idea: the repudiation of the Companions.

Khaldūn says: They exalt Ali above all other Companions in accordance with the beliefs of Shiism," shortly afterwards remarking: **وَانَّمَا هُوَ مَأْخُوذٌ مِّنْ كُتُبِهِمْ كَلَامُ الشِّيَعَةِ وَالرَّافِضَةِ وَمَا اهْبَهُهُمْ فِي كُتُبِهِمْ** "This (the system of the *Sūfīs*) is merely borrowed from the religious philosophy of the *Shi'a* and *Rāfiḍa* and their doctrines in their writings."<sup>1</sup> All these examples are of rather late origin.<sup>2</sup> For an earlier instance see the curious quotation from an ancient poet, Makkarī I, 799: "Thou sayest: 'Shiism consists in the love of the Bald one of Hāshim.'<sup>3</sup> Be then, I pray, a *Rāfiḍī*, if thou wishest it, or become thou a Shiite!"<sup>4</sup> As clearly differentiated the two terms appear in the definition *Ikd* 267: "They were called *Rāfiḍa*, because they 'deserted' Abū Bekr and 'Omar" (cf. p. 142, n. 6) . . . **وَالشِّيَعَةُ دُونَهُمْ وَهُمُ الَّذِينَ يَفْضِلُونَ عَلَيْهَا عَلَى عَثْمَانَ وَيَتَلَوُنَ أَبَا بَكْرَ وَعُمَرَ** "the *Shi'a*, however, are outside of them (the *Rāfiḍa*). They are those who prefer Ali to Othman but follow Abū Bekr and 'Omar."<sup>5</sup> Compare also above, Comm., p. 19<sup>16</sup>.

In this connection may also be mentioned the title of Jāhīz' treatise **كتاب امامية امير المؤمنين معاوية بن ابي سفيان في الانتصار له من على بن ابى طالب رضى وشيعته الرافضة**.

With the consolidation of the *Shi'a* the "deserters" of Zeid b. Ali in 122<sup>h</sup> developed into the *Imāmiyya* sect which out of the belief in the hereditary nature of the *Imamate* and the repudia-

<sup>1</sup> In this case, however, and possibly in some other cases *Rāfiḍa* may be taken in the more limited meaning of *Imāmiyya*, see later in the text, p. 149 f.

<sup>2</sup> For a few more equally late examples see Ahlwardt's Berlin Catalogue No. 2152.

<sup>3</sup> Ali was bald, cf. Text 57<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> **فِتْرَفْصِي إِنْ شَئْتِ أَوْ فَتْشِيَعِي** —The pun contained in these words is as clever as it is frivolous.

<sup>5</sup> See later p. 158 middle.

tion of the Prophet's Companions evolved an independent system of religious doctrine and practice. Their antipodes within the Shi'a were the *Zeidiyya*, the followers of Zeid b. Ali. Hence *Rawâfiḍ* very aptly became the equivalent for *Imâmiyya*.<sup>1</sup> In this application our term is consistently used by Zeiditic and very frequently by Sunnitic writers. Thus a Zeidite writes كتاب الرافضة<sup>2</sup>

الرّد على الرافضة<sup>2</sup>. The early Zeidite al-Kâsim b. Ibrâhîm (died 246<sup>h</sup>) applies the word in the same manner, e. g., *Comm.* 104<sup>28</sup>, similarly *Zeid. Mutaz.*, p. 48. The Zeidite Suleimân b. Jarîr (see *Comm.* p. 72<sup>20</sup>) طعن في الرافضة “criticized the Râfiḍa,” i. e. the Imâmiyya (*Shahr.* 119). Jâhîz begins his “Epistle on the Doctrines of the Shi'a” (*Majmû‘at ar-Rasâ'il*, Cairo 1324<sup>h</sup>, p. 178) with the characteristic words: “Know . . . that the Shi'a of Ali is Zeidite and Râfiḍite (زیدی ورافضی). The rest of them are isolated and not classified. The description of these two (Zeidites and Râfiḍites) makes (the description of) those outside of them unnecessary.” Masudi VI, 23 designates as the sects of Islam الخوارج والمرجنة والرافضة والزيدية والحساوية the same meaning apparently attaches to the word *ibidem*, V, 442.<sup>3</sup> So, also, Tab. III, 1684<sup>15</sup> رافضة . . . وزیدیة<sup>15</sup>.

In the same sense our word is constantly applied by Ibn Hazm. He consciously defines it as contradictory to *Zeidiyya* *Text* 74 ff. and very often applies it in this meaning in his *Milal*. Thus Ed. IV, 176<sup>9</sup>: الخوارج والزيدية والرافض وجمهور المعتزلة; 163<sup>12</sup> وجميع الرافضة من الشيعة . . . وجميع الزیدیة من الشيعة<sup>4</sup> similarly IV, 171<sup>12, 10</sup>. Famous Imamites are designated as

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33 ult.: “Ursprünglich bildeten die Zeiditen einen Gegensatz zu den Râfiḍitzen.”

<sup>2</sup> *Fihrist* 193 ult. For another example see Brockelmann I, 186.—“Die imamitische Sekte der Zaiditen,” *ibidem*, p. 185, is a *contradictio in adiecto*.

<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere (V, 473) he allusively refers to the origin of the name of the *Zeidiyya*, for which he claims to have several explanations.

<sup>4</sup> In this passage I. H. exactly defines the position of the *Imâmiyya* in the question of the “Imamate of the Inferior” (cf. p. 141, n. 8).

Râfidis, e. g., Ali b. Mîtam (*Comm.* 60<sup>25</sup>),<sup>1</sup> Text 51<sup>4</sup>,<sup>2</sup> Hishâm b. al-Hakam (*Comm.* 65<sup>11</sup>), *Text* 63<sup>2</sup>, 74<sup>22</sup>, Ed. II, 121<sup>6</sup>,<sup>3</sup> Muhammed b. Ja‘far (Sheitân at-Tâk, *Comm.* 59<sup>9</sup>), *Text* 50<sup>16</sup>. As synonymous with Imâmiyya the word also appears *Text* 62<sup>16</sup>; *Comm.* 14<sup>40</sup>, 15<sup>2</sup>; Ed. IV, 100 f. and elsewhere.

It is only a slight variation of this usage when I. H. employs *Rawâfid* as an *apposition* of Imâmiyya. Thus *Text* 44<sup>16</sup> (= Ed.

وقال بعض الرافض الامامية وهي الفرقة التي (ib. 179 penult.)

وقالت القطبيعة من (= Ed. IV, 181<sup>1</sup>)<sup>4</sup>, تدعى الممطورة<sup>5</sup> الامامية الرافضة كلهم وهم جمهور الشيعة<sup>5</sup> (= Ed. I, 112 ult.), where several Imamites are characterized as كلهم شيعة, for which Br. and V. (see ib. n. 4) read رافضة<sup>6</sup>.

On the other hand, the original meaning of *Rawâfid* as “repudiators,” without the restriction of an organized sect, seems to be unconsciously present in Ibn Hazm’s mind when he speaks of الامامية من الرافضة, see this page note 5 and *Text* 42<sup>18</sup>=Ed. IV, 179<sup>6</sup>.

As an equivalent of Imâmiyya our word shares in all the modifications of that term, embracing all those who believe in the hereditary nature of the Imamate and in a written will of the Prophet (comp. *Text* 74). Thus the Zeidite al-Kâsim consciously defines *Rawâfid* as those who carry the Imamate

<sup>1</sup> Bagd., too, counts him among the رافضة (ib.).

<sup>2</sup> In the Arabic text (Ed. IV, 181 penult.) ولكن is to be read instead of وكل.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Masudi VII, 231.

<sup>4</sup> L. and Br. merely read (ib. note 8) .وقالت فرقة من الرافضة.

<sup>5</sup> L. Br. instead (ib. n. 13) .وقالت القطبيعة كلها وهم من الامامية من الرافضة اليوم, see later.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Meccah (ed. 1898), I, 206: “The Maghrabis, too, hearing that the Persians were *Rafaz* (heretics) crowded fiercely round to do a little *Jihad*, or Fighting for the Faith.” The Persians were no doubt “Twelvers.”

down to Ja‘far.<sup>1</sup> In the same sense probably,<sup>2</sup> IKhald. counts (II. 165, III, 72, 74) the Ismâ‘iliyya, who transfer the Imamate from Ja‘far to his son Ismâ‘il, and for a similar reason the Fatimides (III, 8) among the Rawâfiḍ.<sup>3</sup> Ja‘far’s son Mûsa is termed “Imâm ar-Râfida,”<sup>4</sup> and so is al-Hasan al-‘Askarî, the Mahdi’s father.<sup>5</sup> With the spread of the Ithnâ‘ashariyya, Rawâfiḍ just as Imâmiyya<sup>6</sup> became a designation of the “Twelvers.” Thus *Mirza* 49<sup>a</sup> unmistakably says **الاثني عشرية** التى يعبر عنها بالرافضة والرافض.

His treatise entitled **رسالة النوافض في رد الرافض** is directed against the same sect. I. H. applies the word similarly, Ed. I, 139<sup>7</sup> and *Text* 76<sup>7</sup>, 77<sup>1</sup>.

The further development of our term seems to have been influenced by the relation of the Sunnites to the Imâmiyya. However bitterly the former resented the Imâmiyya’s attitude towards the Companions, they still regarded them as being within the fold of Islam.<sup>7</sup> Excluded from the Muhammedan community were only the Gûlât or Gâliya,<sup>8</sup> who were considered

<sup>1</sup> See Comm. p. 104<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Another explanation is possible, see p. 152, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> One must, however, bear in mind that under the Fatimides the “repudiation” of the first Caliphs became obligatory as a state law, cf. Goldziher, *Shi‘a* 456.

<sup>4</sup> IBab., *Ithbat* 38.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. 41. It is worthy of notice that al-Hasan is so designated by one of his *admirers* (although not a Shiite). This would indicate that, in Shiitic countries at least, our appellation lost much of its derogatory character.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. IKhald. I, 362 **واما الاثني عشرية وربما خصوا باسم** **الإمامية عند المتأخرین منهم**.

<sup>7</sup> See following note.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Bagd. 6<sup>b</sup> **وجميع فرق الغلة منهم (أى من الشيعة)** **خارجون عن فرق الاسلام فاما فرق الزيدية والامامية**, فمعدودون في فرق الامامة, see ib. 99<sup>a</sup> and Makr. 345. Comp. also Introduction, p. 21.

an outgrowth of the Imâmiyya,<sup>1</sup> but not identified with them.<sup>2</sup> The nature of our term as a *nomen odiosum* sufficiently accounts for its occasional application as *Ǧulât* *in distinction from* the Imâmiyya: Thus IKhald. II, 164, in speaking of the Sufis who believe in the Divine nature of the Imams, observes: **فُشَارُكُوا**  
**فِيهَا الْإِمَامِيَّةُ وَالرَّافِضَةُ لِقُولِهِمْ بِالْأَكْمَةِ أَوْ**  
**حُلُولِ الْإِلَهِ فِيهِمْ** “they share this belief with the Imâmiyya and Râfîda (i. e. Ǧulât<sup>3</sup>), because they maintain the divinity of the Imam or the incarnation of the Deity in them.” *Ibidem* l. 1: “the tenets of the Imâmiyya *and* Râfîda of the Shi‘a as to the recognition of Ali’s superiority and the belief in his Imamate, owing to a written will of the Prophet, as well as the repudiation of the two Elders.”<sup>4</sup> As Ǧulât our word is probably to be explained Masudi VI, 26: **وَذَهَبَ أَبُو حَنِيفَةَ وَأَكْثَرَ**  
**الْمَرْجِنَةَ وَأَكْثَرَ الرَّبِيدِيَّةَ مِنَ الْجَارِودِيَّةِ وَغَيْرِهَا وَسَائِرَ فَرَقِ الشِّيَعَةِ**  
**وَالرَّافِضَةِ وَالرَّاوِنَدِيَّةِ أَنَّ الْإِمَامَةَ لَا تَبْحُوزُ عَلَى قُرِيشٍ فَقْطَ**  
“Abû Hanîfa (*Comm.* 8<sup>5</sup>), the majority of the Murji‘a, the majority of the Zeidiyya, such as<sup>6</sup> the Jârûdiyya (*Comm.*

<sup>1</sup> IKhald. I, 359 speaks of **غَلَةُ الْإِمَامِيَّةِ**, see the following note.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the sharp distinction drawn by Ibn Hazm, *Text* 55<sup>21</sup> ff. The Imâmîtes themselves energetically deny any connection with the Ǧulât, comp. Goldziher, *Shi‘a* 466, n. 2 and *Comm.* 91<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. IKhald. I, 358: “The Ǧulât have transgressed the limits of Reason and Faith by believing in the divinity of these Imams.” See Ibn Hazm, *Text* 55<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Outside the Imâmiyya, it is only the Ǧulât who hold these beliefs. The Zeidiyya reject them.—On the other hand, if we take Imâmîyya in its restricted sense as Ithnâ‘ashâriyya (comp. p. 151 n. 6), Râfîda here might possibly stand for the Ismâ‘îliyya. Again, in the expres-

ssion (p. 151) the latter *might* designate Ǧulât, as the Ismâ‘îliyya hold *gulûww* doctrines. *Ib.* III, 74 IKhald., alongside of the expression just quoted, says **الإِسْمَاعِيلِيَّةُ مِنْ** **الشِّيَعَةِ**.

<sup>5</sup> I take **الْبَيَانِ** as **مِنْ**.

22) and other sects<sup>1</sup> and the remaining sects of the Shi'a<sup>2</sup> and the Râfiḍa<sup>3</sup> as well as the Râwendiyâ (Comm. p. 121 ff.) hold that the Imamate is permissible only in the Kureish tribe.” A clear case of this usage is found IAthir VII, 341 l. 4, where instead of **وكان مغالي (مغاليا في التشيع** (read three codices read **يترفع**). A curious as well as instructive example is afforded by the anecdote told *Kâmil*, ed. Wright 547 and *Agh.* III, 24. Wâṣil b. ‘Atâ, the founder of the Mu‘tazila (Comm. p. 11<sup>38</sup>), was suffering from a linguistic defect and was consequently unable to pronounce the letter *Râ*. He bears a deadly hatred towards the ultra-Shiitic poet Bashshâr b. Burd, who had derogated him in one of his poems. Wâṣil bitingly retorts: he would hire assassins to dispose of him **لولا أن الغبلة** **خُلُقٌ من أَخْلَاقِ الْغَالِيَةِ** “were not assassination a specific quality of the Gâliya.”<sup>4</sup> Here the narrator remarks: Wâṣil said **وَلَمْ يَقُلْ الْمُغَيْرِيَّةُ وَلَا الْمَنْصُورِيَّةُ** (*Kâmil*, ib.) “but he did not say al-Mansûriyya nor al-Muḡîriyya,”—two ultra-Shiitic sects known for their terroristic practices<sup>5</sup>—because of the *Râ* contained in their names. This remark of the narrator is reproduced *Agh.* with a significant variant: **وَلَمْ يَقُلْ الرَّافِضَةُ** *Wâṣil said Gâliya, but not Râfiḍa.* To the narrator in *Agh.* then the two expressions seemed synonymous.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Scil.* “of the Zeidiyya.” The Jârfûdiyya appears everywhere as the first sect of the Zeidiyya, cf. *Shahr.* 118<sup>1</sup>, *Iji* 352, *Makr.* 352<sup>24</sup>, comp.

*Text* 42<sup>17</sup>. *Tab.* III, 1617 says: **الجَارِدِيَّةُ وَالزَّيْدِيَّةُ**, taking the former as an independent sect.

<sup>2</sup> Probably referring to the various sections of the *Imâmiyya*.

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear whether **وَالرَّافِضَةُ وَالرَّافِضَةُ** is to be read.

<sup>4</sup> To whom Bashshâr (Comm. 24<sup>2</sup>) belonged.

<sup>5</sup> See Comm. 92<sup>12</sup> ff.

<sup>6</sup> It is possible that this meaning of the word is unconsciously present in I. H.'s mind when he declares (Comm. 62<sup>8</sup>=Ed. II, 78<sup>4</sup>): “the Rawâfiḍ do not belong to the Muslims.” For the Imamites are not excluded by I. H. from the community of Islam (cf. p. 152, n. 2). On the other hand, the belief in “Tabdil” with which the Rawâfiḍ are charged in the above-mentioned passage is characteristic of the *Imamites* (cf. *Text* 51<sup>13</sup>

This application, however, cannot be said to be more than incidental. Often enough it is impossible to distinguish it from the usages enumerated before, the "Exaggerators" being at the same time "Repudiators."<sup>1</sup> Besides, the Gâliya never became an independent organism as did the Imâmiyya. The constituency of the Gâliya is as fluctuating as is the name, which only later and even then not uncontestedly became the technical term for Ultra Shiites.<sup>2</sup> At any rate, the cases in which Rawâfidî appears as a synonym of Gâliya are counterbalanced by the examples in which they are distinctly kept asunder. Thus Jâhîz (van Vloten, Worgers, p. 58 ult.) expressly says **الرافضة ثم الغالية**. I. H. draws a similar line of distinction. Cf. *Text* 42<sup>18</sup> (= Ed. IV, 179<sup>8</sup>) (**الجارودية من التزديدية ثم الإمامية من** **الرافضة ثم الغالية**). In other passages he uses the expression **الغالية من الروافض**<sup>4</sup>, applying the word in the general sense of "Repudiators"; *Text* 30<sup>18</sup> (= Ed. I, 112<sup>11</sup>), Ed. IV, 206<sup>11</sup>, or **غالية الرافضة** *Ed. V, 117<sup>13</sup>*.

Vastly different from the applications recorded till now is the use of Rawâfidî as a synonym of *Shi'a*, embracing *all* Shiitic sects, *the Zeidiyya included*. This generalization is probably

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and *Comm.* 61<sup>10</sup>).—Strange is the meaning implied in our word in the anecdote *Agh.* XII, 23<sup>20</sup>: A company of poets is sitting at the wine table. The poet Mansûr an-Namârî refuses to partake of the forbidden liquor. He is thus accosted by the company: "You only refrain from wine drinking because you are a *Râfiqa* . . . not from piety." I have found no reference testifying to a particular scrupulousness of the Shiites as regards wine drinking. On the contrary, certain Shiitic sects and individuals are accused of transgressing this prohibition (cf. *Text* 62<sup>14</sup>, *Comm.* 14<sup>20</sup>, 28<sup>20</sup>), not to mention the modern Shiites, at least, as far as they are represented by the Persians.

<sup>1</sup> Thus *Comm.* 42<sup>24</sup> it is difficult to say whether the *Râfiqa* are designated as such because of the extravagant belief referred to there or because of their exclusive adherence to Ali, which implies the repudiation of the other Companions.

<sup>2</sup> Mukaddasî still uses the term in an entirely different sense (cf. p. 145, n. 2.) See also *Comm.* 12<sup>5</sup> ff.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. p. 150 n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly Shahr. 8<sup>13</sup> **الغلاة من الروافض**.

the outcome of a more hostile attitude toward the Shiites, particularly towards the Zeidiyya, on the part of the Sunnites, who now indiscriminately brand by this derogatory term all those who swerve from the Sunna.<sup>1</sup> Thus the *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, ed. Sprenger, bluntly declares: **الرافض من كبر الفرق**

**الاسلامية وتسمى بالشيعة ايضاً.** Bagd. and Isfr., who elaborately derive the origin of the word from Zeid b. Ali, consistently apply *Rawâfiḍ* to all the sects of the Shi'a without exception. To quote a few examples out of many: Bagd. 6<sup>b</sup>

ثم افترقت **الرافضة** اربعة اصناف زيدية وامامية وكيسانية في بيان مقالات **فرق الرفض**، قد (cf. *ibidem* 22<sup>a</sup>), 9<sup>a</sup> **والغلاة**، الزيدية من **الرافضة** <sup>7a</sup> ذكرنا من قبل هذا ان **الزيدية** منهم 93<sup>b</sup> ومن رأة من 112<sup>b</sup>، دفع **الرافضة الزيدية والرافضة الامامية**

**الرافضة زيدياً او امامياً مائلاً الى الطعن في أخيار العحابة**<sup>2</sup>. As the Zeidiyya and Imâmiyya, so are the *Gulât* and their various sections counted among the *Rawâfiḍ*: fol. 103<sup>a</sup> **الرافضة الغالية** 99<sup>a</sup>, 103<sup>b</sup> **السبابية**<sup>3</sup> **الغلاة من الرافضة** 14<sup>a</sup>, **الرافض الغلاة** 99<sup>a</sup> **السبابية من الرافضة**<sup>4</sup>. Isfr.'s use of the word is identical

<sup>1</sup> This again may be explained by the change in the attitude of the Zeidiyya themselves,—for it is only with reference to the Zeidiyya that this usage of our word differs from the one preceding it. Thus Shah-rastâni, having narrated the incident with Zeid b. Ali *anno* 122<sup>b</sup>,

ومالت اكثـر الـزيدـيـة بـعـد ذـلـك عـن القـول بـامـامـة : (p. 118<sup>b</sup>)

**المـفـضـول وـطـعـنـت فـي العـحـابـة طـعـنـ الـامـامـيـة**. For a characteristic example of this changed attitude see Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33 n. 2.—Miṣbâḥ's remark (quoted by Lane s.v. **(روافض)**) probably refers to the same fact: “Afterwards (i. e., after Zeid b. Ali) this appellation became applied to all persons . . . speaking against the Companions.”

<sup>2</sup> Cf. preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Comm.* 41<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Wellhausen's statement (*Opp.* 96, n. 1): “Sabaijja ist ein älterer, Râfiḍa ein späterer Name für dieselbe Sache” is not in accordance with the facts set forth above.

الروافض تجمعهم ثلاثة فرق الزيدية <sup>8b</sup> with that of Bagd.: Isfr. 8<sup>b</sup>

الروافض من جملتهم الزيديون <sup>7a</sup> والامامية والكيسانية <sup>1</sup>.

Makrīzī in his account on Muhammedan sects employs the word in the same general sense, including among the Rawāfiḍ the Imāmiyya as well as the Zeidiyya.<sup>2</sup> This usage is also found much earlier. IKot. 300 presupposes it when he remarks:

الزيديون الى زيد بن علي المقتول وهم اقل الراافضة غلوا غير انهم منتسبون الى زيد بن علي المقتول <sup>3</sup> يرون الخروج مع من خرج من تقيسون الى زيد بن علي المقتول وهم اقل الراافضة غلوا غير انهم منتسبون الى زيد بن علي المقتول <sup>3</sup> يرون الخروج مع من خرج The same meaning is apparently assumed Tab. III, 1465 (anno 247): a man recites before Mutawakkil a poem against the Rāfiḍa in which it is argued that a daughter has no hereditary claims, and receives from the overjoyed Caliph 10,000 Dirhems and the governorship of Bahrein and Yamāma. This argument, which is directed against the descendants of Fāṭīma, affects the Zeidiyya as well as the Imāmiyya.<sup>4</sup>

Ibn Ḥazm seems to refrain from this unrestricted use of the word. The only exception—and this perhaps a deceptive one—<sup>5</sup> is found *Text* 40<sup>11</sup> (=Ed. IV, 178<sup>15</sup>), where, instead of the

<sup>1</sup> The Gulāt are excluded from Islam. Bağdādī, who counts four sections (p. 155<sup>10</sup>), is inconsistent, cf. p. 151, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Makrīzī's statement (*Comm.* 12<sup>4</sup>) may apply to the Shi'a in general or to the Imāmiyya of whom he speaks in the quoted passage. On the relation of the Mu'tazila to the Imāmiyya, see also Goldziher, *Shi'a*, p. 484.

<sup>3</sup> This is apparently the source for *Ikd* 269: ومن الراافضة الزيديه

وهم اصحاب زيد بن علي المقتول بخراسان وهم اقل الراافضة غلوا غير انهم يرون الخروج مع كل من خرج This usage is somewhat inconsistent with the statement p. 148. Elsewhere (cf. *Comm.* 26<sup>2</sup>) *Ikd* designates as Rawāfiḍ those who believe in the "return" of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya, i. e., the Keisāniyya.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction, p. 21. Snouck-Hurgronje's observation (*Mekka* I, 34): "im 12. Jahrhundert konnte man die Zeiditen Arabiens als Rāfiḍiten bezeichnen, weil sie dort und damals den Orthodoxen schroff gegenüberstanden" must needs be amplified: the designation of the Zeidiyya as Rawāfiḍ is older than the 12. century and by no means restricted to Arabia.

<sup>5</sup> For the author speaks of the "depravities" of these sects, cf. Introduction, p. 22.

من أقوال أهل البدع المعتزلة<sup>١</sup>  
 بَدْع الرافضة والخوارج والمرجئة والشيعة  
 والمعتزلة والمرجئة.<sup>٢</sup>

Those who have perused the material presented in this appendix with some measure of attention will have observed that the word *Shi'a*—not unlike *Rawâfid*—is not a sharply and definitely circumscribed term but is subject to not inconsiderable modifications. In distinction from *Rawâfid*, the term *Shi'a* has nothing objectionable or derogatory about it<sup>3</sup>: the Shiites themselves unhesitatingly assume this appellation.<sup>4</sup> To the Sunnites as well, owing to the ever increasing prevalence of pro-Alidic sentiments among the masses,<sup>5</sup> *Shi'a* even in the sense of “*Shi'at 'Ali*” conveys no objectionable meaning,—this, as it were, respectable character of the word being, in our opinion, the main reason for the gradual spread of *Rawâfid* at its expense. The application of *Shi'a* by the Sunnites, just as that of *Rawâfid*, is largely conditioned by their attitude towards the Zeidiyya. The disagreement between the Sunna and Zeidiyya is not one of deep-seated antagonism. In point of fact, the whole difference reduces itself to the question as to the candidacy for the Imamate. According to the Zeidiyya, the Imamate is confined to the descendants of *Fâtima*<sup>6</sup>; the Sunnites extend it to the whole of Kureish. Since, however, the Sunnites for the most part agree with the Zeidiyya as to the excellence of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Comm.* 21<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The former superscription however is the original one, see the reference quoted *Text* 40, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 146, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Shahr.* 143<sup>8</sup> (in a quotation from *Ibn an-Nu'mân*, *Comm.* 59<sup>2</sup>), also Goldziher, *Shi'a* 470, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ZDMG. 50, 111.

<sup>6</sup> i. e., Hasanides as well as Huseinides,—provided, of course, their personal fitness (cf. *Text* 75<sup>7</sup> ff. and *Comm.*).—Wellhausen's assumption (*Opp.* 98): “Sie (die Zeidijja) unterscheiden sich von der Râfida durch ihr Eintreten für das Haus Husains” contradicts one of the fundamental tenets of the Zeidiyya. That Zeid b. Ali was a descendant of Husein was mere chance and wholly indifferent to the Zeidiyya or to Zeid himself. Cf. *Comm.* 22<sup>31</sup> ff.

Ali and his family, and the Zeidiyya, on the other hand, agree with the Sunnites as to the legitimacy of the two Elders, the gap between them seems practically to close. "The Zeidiyya," says Makr. 354<sup>7</sup>, "are the best among the Shi'a, for they admit the Imamâte of Abû Bekr and deny the existence of a written will concerning the Imamate of Ali." This stands to reason why Mukaddasî, e. g., places the Zeidiyya *outside* the Shi'a, applying the latter term to the Imâmiyya and other radical sections of the Shi'a. Thus p. 38 n. *d* (see above p. 142 n. 6): **عند الشيعة على الزيدية . . . وعند الريبيبة**, "the Shi'a prevailed upon the Zeidiyya," or p. 128<sup>1</sup>

**الخلفاء الاربعة وقد علمت ما يقول فيهم الخوارج وجهال الشيعة.**

The "stupid Shiites" can only refer to the Imâmiyya and other radical sections,<sup>1</sup> as the Zeidiyya, on the whole, refrain from attacking the four Caliphs.<sup>2</sup>

It is nothing but a different consequence of the same attitude of mind when, on the contrary, we find that the term *Shi'a*, without any objectionable by-meaning,<sup>3</sup> is applied to the Zeidiyya, *to the exclusion of the Imâmiyya* who are designated as Rawâfi'd. This is clearly the case with the utterance of *Ikd*, p. 148<sup>4</sup> and the *hadîth* p. 146 (cf. p. 147 n. 2). It may also be applicable in the phrase **الشيعة والرافضة**, of which several examples were quoted p. 147 f., notably so in the case of *IKhald.* p. 148.<sup>5</sup>

With the rise within the Zeidiyya of sections which, unfaithful to their founder, did not refrain from the "denunciation of the Companions,"<sup>6</sup> the attitude of the Sunna became one of hostility and the term *Shi'a*, gradually assuming a distinct

<sup>1</sup> This is clearly shown by the variant (note *a*) **ما يقول فيهم الخوارج والرافضة من المطالب وما يقول العقلاء من الحسن.**

<sup>2</sup> As different from Zeidiyya, *Shi'a* is also applied by Masudi, see p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 146, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> This is in contradiction with *Ikd*, p. 156, n. 3. But the latter passage is borrowed from Ibn Koteiba, see *ib.*

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Khaldûn speaks of their *writings*, which would point to a dogmatically consolidated sect.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. p. 155, n. 1. The sect mentioned *Comm.* 75 limits the Imamate to the Hasanides, yet indulges in the denunciation of the Companions.

heterodox character, was now applied to all sects of Shiism, from the Zeidiyya to its farthest ramifications, the Ḡulāt.<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, mention must be made of a term used by the Shiites for the same polemical purposes as was *Rawāfid* by the Sunnites. We refer to the expression *Nawāṣib*, which seems to have been patterned after *Rawāfid*.<sup>2</sup> Ample information about the meaning and history of this designation can be drawn from Goldziher's writings.<sup>3</sup> Originally *Nawāṣib* stood for the exact reverse of *Rawāfid*: the "enemies" or "haters" (of Ali),<sup>4</sup> and was confined to the extreme Khārijites. Gradually its meaning expanded so that it finally embraced all Sunnites, however far they were from hating Ali.

In addition we may remark that the Imāmiyya polemically apply the same term even to the Zeidiyya, with whom the superiority of Ali is a cardinal doctrine. Kashi 149 quotes Ja‘far as-Ṣādīq as saying:<sup>5</sup> الرِّيَدِيَّةُ هُمُ النَّصَابُ. Further utterances of a similar tendency can be found in the same passage.

<sup>1</sup> So nearly all writers.—On the relation of the Ḡulāt to the Shi'a comp. Introduction, p. 21 and Index s.v. Shi'a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mukaddasi 38<sup>7</sup>: وَمَا أَرْبَعَةُ لُقْبٍ بِهَا أَهْلُ الْمَحْدِيثِ فَالْحَشْوَيْةُ فَامْا الْمَلَقَبَةُ فَالرَّوَافِضُ ibidem 37<sup>16</sup> ; وَالشَّكَانُ وَالنَّوَاصِبُ وَالْحَجَبَةُ وَالْحُجَّبَةُ وَالْمَرْجَعَةُ وَالشَّكَانُ. Thus the Ḥashwiyya correspond with the Murji'a and the Nawāṣib with the Rawāfid.

<sup>3</sup> Shi'a 491 ff., ZDMG. 36, 281, *Muh. St.* II, 120.

<sup>4</sup> *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* explains it in this way: نَصَبُوا لَهُ أَيْ عَادُوهُ.

<sup>5</sup> The form *Nuṣṣāb*, which occurs several times in Kashi, is not recorded in the dictionaries.

## 1. ALI (k. 40)

by Khawla al-Hanafiyah	2. al- <i>Hasan</i> (d. 49)	by Fátima	3. al- <i>Hussein</i> (k. 61)
<i>Muhammad</i> (II. 35 n. 3)	al- <i>Hasan</i>		4. <i>Ali</i> (Zein al-‘Abidin, d. 94)
<i>Abū Hāshim</i> ‘ <i>Abdallah</i> (d. 79)			
	‘ <i>Abdallah</i>	5. <i>Muhammad</i> (al-Bakir, d. 117)	‘ <i>Omar</i>
<i>Muhammad</i> (k. 145) <i>Idris</i>		6. <i>Ja‘far</i> (aṣ-Ṣādik, d. 146)	<i>Ali</i>
<i>Yahya</i> <sup>2</sup>	7. <i>Ismā‘il</i> (II. 133 <sup>26</sup> )	<i>Musa</i> (al-Kāzim, k. 183)	‘ <i>Isa</i> al- <i>Hussein</i>
<i>Idris</i>	<i>Muhammad</i> (at-Tāmm)	8. <i>Ali</i> (ar-Rida, d. ca. 203)	al- <i>Kāsim</i>
<i>Ahmad</i>	<i>Ja‘far</i>	9. <i>Muhammad</i> (at-Takf, k. (?) 220)	Yahya
<i>Muhammad</i> (al-Habib)	10. <i>Ali</i> (an-Nakī, d. 254)	<i>Ibrāhīm</i>	‘ <i>Omar</i>
‘ <i>Ubedallah</i> (Mahdi of Fatimides)	11. al- <i>Hasan</i> (al-‘Askarī, d. 260)	<i>Musa</i>	<i>Muhammad</i>
	12. <i>Muhammad</i> (al-MAHDI)	al- <i>Hussein</i>	
			<i>Ali</i> (al-Murtadā, d. 436)

<sup>1</sup> This list is primarily based on *Gen. Leyd*. For the twelve Imams the data of IKot. 108 ff. and Diyārbekri (cf. *Comm.* 78<sup>28</sup>) have been utilized. The persons whose names appear in italics are mentioned in this treatise and are registered in the Index; the others are mere links in the genealogical chain. The dates of death differ considerably in the various sources. I have frequently followed IKot.—d. = died; k. = killed. According to the Imāmiyya, *all* Imams, except the twelfth (the Mahdi), were killed (see *Comm.* 30<sup>15</sup> ff. and the list quoted 78<sup>28</sup>). I merely followed the historical data. The Imams of the Ithnā‘ashariyya and Sabiyya have been marked by figures. The titles of the Imams are numerous. Only one has been given in each case. The children of a single man are arranged according to age, as they are given in *Gen. Leyd*. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* (list Y and Z) frequently differs in this respect.

<sup>2</sup> *Gen. Leyd*. (cf. IKhald. I. 360) omits this name, but mentions Yahya as a brother of Idris and son of ‘Abdallah. Hence perhaps the mistake of Ibn Hazm (I. 54 penult.). Cf. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* list Z, and the entirely different genealogy of al-Bekri, *Comm.* 75<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Comm.* 87 n. 2. Not found in *Gen. Leyd*, nor in any other source. IKot. 110 registers ‘Abdallah as the only brother of Ja‘far.

<sup>4</sup> I. 51<sup>11</sup> omitted through oversight. Cf. II. 63<sup>9</sup>.

## INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS.<sup>1</sup>

**Abatur**, deity of Mandæans, II. 84<sup>23</sup>.

**al-'Abbâs**, II. 20<sup>11</sup>, 103<sup>10</sup>.

**'Abbasids**, *see* **Imamate**.

**Abdallah b. al-'Abbâs**, II. 25<sup>18</sup>.

- " b. 'Abdallah b. Shuneif, II. 74<sup>16</sup>.
- " b. Ahmâd b. Abî Zeid, II. 41 n. 2.
- " b. 'Amr b. al-Hârb (II. 124<sup>30</sup>), *see* 'A. b. al-Hârith.
- " b. " b. al-Hârith (II. 124<sup>26</sup>), *see* 'A. b. al-Hârith.
- " b. al-Hârb (II. 124<sup>32</sup>), *see* 'A. b. al-Hârith.
- Harbiyya, II. 124 f.
- " b. al-Hârith, I. 37<sup>5</sup>, 71, II. 90<sup>11</sup>, 124 ff.
- " b. Ja'far b. Abî Tâlib, II. 45 n. 2.
- " b. " al-Aftâh, II. 114<sup>15</sup> ff.
- Aftâhiyya, *ib.*
- " b. al-Kharb (II. 124<sup>33</sup>), *see* 'A. b. al-Hârith.
- Kharbiyya, I. 71<sup>17</sup>, II. 124 f.
- " b. Lahî'a, II. 43<sup>1</sup>.
- " b. Mu'âwiya, I. 45<sup>15</sup>, 71<sup>14</sup>, II. 24 n. 1, 44 ff., 125<sup>11</sup>.
- Janâhiyya, *see* Mu'âwiya b. 'Abdallah.
- " b. Muğîra b. Sa'îd, I. 60<sup>1</sup>.
- " b. Nauf, II. 72<sup>18</sup> f.
- " b. Sabâ, called *Ibn as-Saudâ*, accounts on, I. 3, n. 1,  
II. 19, 100; Jew, embraced Islam to injure it,  
I. 37<sup>5</sup>, 45<sup>2</sup>, II. 17; against 'Othmân, I. 37<sup>10</sup>,  
II. 19<sup>24</sup>; originates *Raj'a* and *Gai'a*, II. 27<sup>8</sup>;  
*Raj'a* of *Muhammed*, II. 24<sup>19</sup>, 25 n. 1; *Raj'a* of

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<sup>1</sup> The authorities quoted *as such* throughout the treatise have been excluded from this index. On account of lack of space only the most important items have been specified. Unless otherwise stated, the names are those of *persons*. The words ending in *-iyya* designate *sects*. The latter appear under the heading of the person to which they belong, a cross-reference always indicating that person. The words printed in italics will be found as special items. The quotations refer to line and page. Where the line is left out, the whole page or most of it deals with that item. I. refers to the *first* part of this treatise (vol. xxviii. of this Journal); II. to the *second* (vol. xxix). In the alphabetical arrangement the article in its various forms and *b.* (=bnu) have not been counted. *s. v.* refers to the preceding *item* in italics; *ib.* to the preceding *figure*. *Fâthâ* is rendered by *a*, occasionally by *e*, *dâmma* by *u* and *o*; the diphthong *fâthâ+yâ* by *ai* and *ei*. A list of Arabic words is appended to this index.

‘Alî denying that he died, I. 45, II. 25, 30<sup>10</sup>, 43 f., 95<sup>11</sup>, cf. 39<sup>3</sup>, 128<sup>10</sup>, and maintaining that in clouds, I. 45, II. 42<sup>18</sup> ff.; belief in divinity of ‘Alî, I. 65 ult. ff., II. 17<sup>25</sup>, 99<sup>22</sup>, cf. II. 91<sup>15</sup>; banished by ‘Alî, II. 42 n. 1, 48 n. 6, or burned, II. 100 n. 1; his adherents burned by ‘Alî, II. 99 f.

Sabâ‘iyya, I. 45<sup>1</sup>, 65 n. 7, II. 17<sup>1</sup>, 101<sup>14</sup>, 155 penult.; called *Sabbabiyya*, II. 41 f.; principal Alidic sect, II. 101<sup>26</sup>; synonymous with radical heresy, II. 100<sup>11</sup>, cf. 83 n. 1, 100<sup>27</sup> ff.; and *Rawâfiq*, II. 155 n. 4.

‘Abdallah b. Sabbâb, II. 42 n. 1.

“ b. Yâsîn, I. 55 n. 1, II. 76<sup>18</sup>.

“ b. Yazîd al-Ibâdî, I. 30<sup>15</sup>, II. 10<sup>1</sup>, 65<sup>21</sup>.

‘Abdarrahmân b. Muljam, I. 72<sup>9</sup>, II. 128<sup>12</sup>.

Ablâk, II. 122<sup>11</sup>.

Abnâ‘, appellation for Persians, I. 35 ult., II. 18<sup>6</sup>.

al-Abtar, II. 129<sup>22</sup> ff. *See* Kathîr al-Abtar.

Butriyya *ib.*, or Buteirîyya, II. 131 n. 2.

Abû ‘l-‘Abbâs ar-Rubûbâdî, II. 128<sup>21</sup>.

Rubûbâdiyya, *ib.* *See* ar-Râwandî and Râwandiyya.

“ ‘Abdallah al-‘Ajâñî, II. 17<sup>8</sup>, 110 n. 1.

“ “ ash-Shî‘î, II. 75<sup>10</sup>, 109<sup>31</sup>, 110 n. 1.

“ ‘Alî (ash-Shakkâk), I. 52 penult., 75<sup>24</sup>, II. 66<sup>12</sup>.

“ Bashshâr al-Ash‘arî, II. 96<sup>3</sup>.

“ Bekr and ‘Omar, legitimate Imams, I. 22, 74<sup>16</sup>, II. 21<sup>21</sup>, 129<sup>24</sup>, 130<sup>8</sup>, 138 f., 141, 158, or illegitimate, I. 79<sup>12</sup>, 141 penult.; hated and denounced by the *Shî‘a*, I. 35<sup>8</sup>, 52<sup>10</sup>, II. 14<sup>21</sup>, 28 n. 1, 42<sup>1</sup>, 7, 64<sup>22</sup>, 65<sup>6</sup>, 142–148, 151 n. 3, 152<sup>13</sup>. *See* Companions.

“ b ‘Ayâsh, *see* Ibn ‘Ayâsh.

“ ‘l Faraj al-İsfahâñî, author of Agâñî, II. 144 n. 6.

“ Ğifâr, II. 12<sup>32</sup> f.

“ Hanîfa, I. 29<sup>11</sup>, II. 8<sup>8</sup>, 152 penult.

“ Hâshim ‘Abdallah b. Muhammed II. 89<sup>1</sup>, 126<sup>3</sup>. *See* Imamate. Hâshimiyya, II. 35<sup>10</sup> ff., 89<sup>6</sup>.

“ ‘l Hudeil, I. 30<sup>2</sup>, 53<sup>1</sup>, II. 14<sup>40</sup> ff., 16<sup>1</sup>, 58<sup>1</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, 60<sup>24</sup>, 66 f., 74.

“ Hureira ar-Rubûbâdî, *see* Abû ‘l-‘Abbâs.

“ ‘îsa al-İsfahâñî, II. 90<sup>15</sup>.

“ Ismâ‘îl al-Bîttîkhî, I. 30 ult., II. 11<sup>24</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup>. Bîttîkhîyya, I. 30 ult.

“ ‘l Jârûd, called Surhûb, II. 22<sup>6</sup>.

Jârûdiyya, I. 42<sup>17</sup>, 43 f., 74<sup>18</sup>, II. 22, 136<sup>13</sup>, 153 n. 1.

Surhûbiyya, II. 22<sup>12</sup>.

“ Kâmil, I. 55<sup>1</sup>, 80<sup>2</sup>, II. 76<sup>21</sup>.

Abû Karb, II. 35<sup>24</sup>, 36 n. 1.  
     Karbîyya, *ib.*

“ ’l Kâsim ‘Alî al-Murtadâ, I. 51<sup>17</sup>, II. 63.

“ ’l “ an-Najjâr, *see* Ibn Haushab.

“ ’l “ ar-Râzî, I. 52<sup>1</sup>, II. 63<sup>23</sup>.

“ Khâtim, *sec* al-Bawârî.

“ ’l Khattâb, II. 112 ff., divinity of, I. 34<sup>19</sup>, 69<sup>4, 7</sup>, II. 17<sup>3</sup>; attacked by *Ja’far as-Sâdîk*, II. 14<sup>28</sup>, 90<sup>12</sup>, 96<sup>2</sup>.  
     Khattâbîyya, II. 112; factions of, I. 7, 64 f., 69<sup>16</sup>, II. 96 f.; worship *Ja’far as-Sâdîk*, I. 68, 69<sup>1</sup>, II. 106<sup>13</sup>; allegorize *Koran*, II. 14; claim to avoid death, I. 69<sup>10</sup>, II. 24 n. 1, 72<sup>30</sup>.

“ Khirâsh (I. 65 n. 4), *see* Khidâsh.

“ Kûbeis, mountain, II. 67<sup>21</sup>.

“ ’l Kurûs, II. 36 n. 1.

“ Lahab, II. 90<sup>6</sup>.

“ Mâlik al-Hâdramî, I. 75 ult., II. 133<sup>14</sup>.

“ Manṣûr al-‘Ijlî, called al-Kisf, I. 34<sup>2</sup>, 62 ff., II. 89 ff., 92<sup>12</sup> ff., 95<sup>31</sup>.  
     Manṣûriyya, or Kisfiyya (cf. I. 63 n. 4), I. 63, II. 92<sup>14, 18</sup>, 97<sup>13</sup>, 153<sup>17</sup>.

“ “ Muzaffar b. Ardshîr, II. 71.

“ ’l Mikdâm Thâ’it (?) al-Haddâd, II. 130<sup>2</sup>.

“ Mikhnaf, II. 141<sup>10</sup>.

“ Muslim, I. 36<sup>11</sup>, 45, 70<sup>7</sup>, II. 30<sup>10</sup>, 44<sup>18, 21</sup>, 64<sup>10</sup>, 94<sup>7</sup>, 118 f., 120<sup>12</sup>, 124<sup>14, 17</sup>.  
     Abû-Muslimiyya, II. 118<sup>23</sup>, 119 n. 2, or Muslimiyya, II. 119<sup>7, 11</sup>. *See* Abû Salma; Işhâk.

“ Sa’îd Abû ’l Kheir, I. 73<sup>1</sup>, II. 128 f.

“ “ al-Hasan b. Bahrâm al-Jannâbî, I. 68<sup>19</sup>, II. 108<sup>11</sup>, 109<sup>5</sup>.

“ Salma, II. 119 n. 2.  
     Baslamiyya *ib.*, 124<sup>18</sup>.

“ Sufyân, father of Mu’âwiya, I. 68 n. 8, II. 14<sup>20</sup>, 110<sup>14</sup>.  
     “ Karmatian, II. 110<sup>1</sup>.

“ Tâhir, II. 95<sup>29</sup>, 108<sup>32</sup> ff.

“ Ya’la, I. 51 ult., II. 63<sup>14</sup>.

“ Zakariyya al-Khayyât, II. 17<sup>9</sup>.

Achamoth, Gnostic hypostasis, II. 83<sup>28</sup>.

Adam, I. 68<sup>1</sup>, II. 45 n. 3, 104, 116<sup>1</sup>, 121<sup>1</sup> ff.

Addâd, *see* Clementines.

Aden, in Yemen, II. 110<sup>7, 16</sup>.

Afshîn, II. 101, n. 1.

Aftâhiyya, *see* ‘Abdallah b. Ja’far al-Aftâh.

Ahmâd b. Hâbit (II. 10<sup>11</sup>), *see* next.

“ b. Hâbit, I. 30<sup>1</sup>, II. 10<sup>7</sup> ff., 11<sup>3, 17</sup>, 64<sup>9</sup> f., 90<sup>25</sup>, 91<sup>23</sup>.

“ b. Idris, I. 54 penult.

“ b. Nânûs (II. 10<sup>22</sup>). *see* A. b. Yânûsh.

Aḥmad b. Sāliḥ, II. 70<sup>9</sup>.

“ b. Yānūsh, I. 30<sup>11</sup>, II. 10<sup>17</sup> ff., 64<sup>10</sup>, 88<sup>28</sup>, 90<sup>26</sup>, 91<sup>24</sup>.

Aḥrār, appellation for *Persians*, I. 35 ult., II. 18<sup>13</sup>.

al-Āḥwal, II. 65 n. 2.

‘Ainiyya, II. 103<sup>1</sup>.

‘A’isha, I. 35<sup>5</sup>, 52<sup>16</sup>, II. 20<sup>11</sup>, 130<sup>4</sup>.

‘Ajārida, Khārijite sect, I. 31<sup>1</sup>, II. 11<sup>28</sup>, 12<sup>11</sup>.

‘Alī b. Abī Tālib, name, I. 53 penult., II. 73; age, I. 56<sup>14</sup>, II. 77<sup>24</sup>; appearance, I. 57, II. 78; grave unknown, II. 43<sup>9</sup> ff., or buried in *Kufa*, II. 43 n. 3; worthiest of *Imamate*, I. 32<sup>24</sup>, 74<sup>6</sup>, 79<sup>8</sup>, II. 139<sup>5</sup>, 159<sup>15</sup>; acknowledged even by *Rāwan-diyya*, II. 122 n. 1; loved by *Sunna*, II. 143 n. 6, 146; exalted by *Ṣūfis*, II. 148<sup>1</sup>; conceded *Imamate* to three first Caliphs, I. 74<sup>15</sup>, II. 129<sup>19</sup>, hence declared apostate, I. 55<sup>10</sup>, 79<sup>24</sup>; denounced, II. 145 n. 2; hated by *Khawārij*, II. 64<sup>24</sup>; *Imamate* of: and eleven descendants, *see* Twelvers, and three sons, *see* Keisāniyya, and two sons, II. 113<sup>15</sup> ff., he alone Imam, I. 58<sup>8</sup>, II. 78<sup>20</sup>, 154 n. 1; possessed and bequeathed *Mystic lore*, II. 20<sup>11</sup>, 22, 33; stops sun, I. 53<sup>6</sup>, II. 62<sup>17</sup>, 68 ff.: resuscitates dead, II. 83 n. 1; was not killed and will *return*, I. 34 ult., *see* ‘Abdallah b. Sabā; in the clouds, s. v.; divinity of, s. v., I. 72<sup>15</sup>, II. 62<sup>15</sup>, 23, 102 f., 112<sup>21</sup>, 137; Demiurge (Creator), I. 62<sup>12</sup>, II. 91, 99 f., 127, 128<sup>2</sup>; as such had neither wife nor children, II. 127<sup>35</sup> ff.; punishes ‘Abdallah b. Sabā, s. v., and other *exaggerators*, I. 37<sup>10</sup>, 66, II. 99 f.; designated as al-*Kisf*, II. 89<sup>23</sup>, as “dābbat al-ard,” II. 86<sup>17</sup>; compared with Aaron, II. 48<sup>29</sup>, 135<sup>31</sup>, with Jesus, s. v., with Joshua, II. 68, 70 f., 135<sup>36</sup>; warned by Prophet against *Rawāfid*, II. 146; objects to religious discussions, II. 15<sup>25</sup>. *See also* *Imamate*, *Imāmiyya*, *Muhammed*, *Naṣṣ*, *Zeidiyya*.

“ al-Azdārī, II. 127<sup>36</sup> ff.

Azdariyya, *ib.*

“ b. al-Faḍl, I. 68 n. 8, II. 17<sup>9</sup>, 110<sup>4</sup> ff.

“ b. Haitham, *see* ‘A. b. Mīthām.

“ b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl, II. 4 n. 2.

“ b. al-Ḥusein b. ‘Alī, I. 58<sup>6</sup>, 68<sup>4</sup>, 75<sup>15</sup>.

“ b. “ b. Mūsa, *see* Abū ‘l-Kāsim ‘Alī.

“ b. Ismā’īl b. Mīthām, *see* ‘A. b. Mīthām.

“ b. Mansūr, I. 75<sup>23</sup>, II. 133<sup>1</sup>, 22.

“ b. Mīthām, I. 51<sup>3</sup>, 75<sup>33</sup>, II. 40<sup>19</sup>, 60, 133<sup>15</sup>, 150<sup>1</sup>.

“ b. Muhammed b. ‘Alī, I. 58<sup>6</sup>, 76<sup>9</sup>, II. 52<sup>3</sup>, cf. 78<sup>29</sup>.

“ b. “ b. al-Fayyād, II. 103<sup>24</sup>, 81, cf. I. 67<sup>6</sup>.

“ b. Mūsa b. Ja’far, I. 58<sup>6</sup>, 76<sup>9</sup>, II. 52<sup>1</sup>.

“ an-Najjār, II. 17<sup>9</sup>, 110 n. 1.

“ b. al-Warṣand (I. 54 n. 7), *see* Ibn Warṣand.

Almoravides, II. 49<sup>29</sup>, 76<sup>19</sup>.

Āmir b. Shurāḥīl, *see* ash-Sha’bī.

‘Âmir b. at-Tufeil, I. 54<sup>5</sup>, II. 73<sup>20</sup>.  
 ‘Ammâr al-‘Ibâdî, II. 98<sup>21</sup>. *See* Khidâsh.  
 ‘Amr b. al-‘Âs, II. 14<sup>20</sup>.  
 “ b. Humeid, II. 145.  
 Aristotle, II. 57<sup>18</sup>.  
 Arms, use of, *see* Khashabiyâ.  
 Asad b. ‘Abdallah al-Kaşrî, I. 65<sup>6</sup>, II. 98<sup>25</sup> ff.  
 “ b. Kurz, II. 87<sup>4</sup>.  
 Aşhâb, *see* Companions.  
 al- Ash‘arî, I. 29<sup>15</sup> ff., II. 73<sup>2</sup>, 81<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ash‘ariyya, I. 31<sup>17</sup>, II. 8<sup>5</sup>.  
 Asmâ bint ‘Umeis, II. 69<sup>18</sup>, 70<sup>11</sup>.  
 Avicenna, II. 123<sup>20</sup>.  
 al-‘Ayyâshî, II. 4 n. 2.  
 ‘Azâkîra, sect, *see* ash-Shalmağâni.  
 Azârika, Khârijite sect, I. 30<sup>16</sup>, II. 9<sup>33</sup> ff., 11<sup>25</sup>.  
 Azdariyya, *see* ‘Alî al-Azdarî.  
 Bâbak, I. 36<sup>3</sup>, II. 13<sup>25</sup>, 20<sup>1</sup>.  
 Bâbûhiyya, II. 41 n. 2.  
 Babylonia, ancient, II. 80<sup>33</sup> ff., 87<sup>29</sup>. *See* ‘Irâk.  
 Badâ (doctrine), I. 53<sup>10</sup>, II. 61<sup>3</sup>, 72.  
 Badâ‘iyya, II. 72<sup>13</sup>.  
 Bagdad, I. 69<sup>19</sup> ff., II. 39<sup>21</sup>, 65<sup>15</sup>, 71<sup>3</sup>, 80<sup>24</sup>, 125 n. 4.  
 Bahrein, II. 80 n. 4, 108<sup>18,24</sup>, 109<sup>29</sup>.  
 Bajaliyya, *see* Ibn Warsand.  
 al- Baklî, II. 24 n. 1, 46<sup>5</sup>, 111<sup>16</sup>.  
 Baklîyya, II. 111.  
 Barâg-wâta (commonwealth), I. 47, II. 49.  
 Bârân, town, II. 111 n. 1.  
 al- Bashshâr b. Burd, II. 24<sup>3</sup>, 153.  
 Baslamîyya, *see* Abû Salma.  
 Başra, I. 70<sup>6</sup>, II. 11<sup>3</sup>, 41<sup>7</sup>, 56<sup>1,7</sup>, 58<sup>14</sup>, 60<sup>21</sup>, 66<sup>20</sup>, n. 3.  
 al- Başrî, I. 70<sup>5</sup>, II. 117 f.  
 Bâtiiniyya, II. 17<sup>5,27</sup>, 92 n. 2, 112 n. 3.  
 al- Bawârî, I. 68 n. 8, II. 110 f. *See* al-Bûrânî.  
 Bayân b. Sam‘ân, I. 34<sup>23</sup>, 60 f., II. 88, 90<sup>10</sup>, 96<sup>1</sup>, 126<sup>2</sup>.  
 Baziğ, I. 34<sup>23</sup>, 64<sup>6</sup>, II. 95<sup>34</sup> ff., 113<sup>30</sup>.  
 Baziğiyya, II. 114 n. 1, 118 n. 4.  
 Beidâ, town, II. 114<sup>22</sup>.  
 Bekr al-A‘war, I. 60<sup>6</sup>, II. 87<sup>8</sup>.  
 “ b. Ukhshub, II. 110 n. 3.  
 Berkûkiyya, II. 119<sup>1</sup>.  
 al- Bhnkî (?), I. 66 n. 9, 67<sup>3</sup>, II. 102 f.  
 Bishr b. Gîyâth, I. 29 ult., II. 9<sup>19</sup>.  
 “ b. Khâlid, *see* next.  
 “ b. al-Mu‘tamir Abû Khâlid, I. 50<sup>14</sup>, II. 58<sup>15</sup>.  
 Bishriyya, II. 58<sup>19</sup>.

Bitṭīkhiyya, *see* Abū Ismā'īl.

al- Buhturī, I. 67<sup>9</sup>, II. 103<sup>28</sup>, 115<sup>17</sup>.

Bunān (II. 88), *see* Bayān b. Sam'ān.

al- Būrānī, *see* al-Bawārī.

Būrāniyya, II. 110<sup>22</sup>.

Burhūt, well, II. 85<sup>18</sup>.

Butriyya, *or* Buteiriyya, *see* al-Abtar.

Cabbage, *see* Dietary regulations.

Cabbala, II. 81 ff., 104<sup>9</sup>.

Carmathians, *see* Karmatians.

Christ, *see* Jesus.

Christians and Christianity, I. 3 n. 1, II. 10<sup>27</sup>, 11<sup>10</sup>, 47<sup>1</sup>, 61<sup>27</sup>, 87<sup>2</sup>, 91, 101. *See* Jesus.

Clementines (Pseudo-), the True Prophet (*or* Successive *Incarnation*), II. 45<sup>11</sup>, 85 f., 92<sup>7</sup>, 104<sup>22</sup>, 121<sup>1</sup> ff., cf. I. 60<sup>1</sup>, 62<sup>13</sup>; Syzygy (Aḍdād), II. 116, 127<sup>13</sup> ff.; origin of evil, II. 85 n. 3.

Communism, of wives (and property), I. 37<sup>17</sup>, 70<sup>4</sup>, II. 19<sup>39</sup>, 120<sup>25</sup>.

Companions, of Prophet, hide Naṣṣ, I. 22, 74<sup>1</sup>, II. 22<sup>21</sup>, 61<sup>6</sup>, 13<sup>1</sup>; declared apostates, I. 74<sup>12</sup>, 79<sup>18</sup>, II. 22<sup>20</sup>, 142<sup>1</sup>; hated and denounced by Shī'a, I. 35<sup>4</sup>, II. 41<sup>26</sup> f., 60<sup>28</sup>, 61<sup>11</sup>, 75<sup>13</sup>, 130<sup>4</sup>, 142–147, 155, 158. Cf. Abū Bekr and 'Omar.

Concealment, of *Imam*, *see* Ḍaiba.

Dahriyya, I. 45 ult., II. 46<sup>4,8</sup>, 54<sup>21</sup>.

Dammiyya, II. 102<sup>1</sup>.

Dāwud al-Hawārī (or al-Jawārī, or al-Jawāribī), I. 31<sup>19</sup>, 53<sup>3</sup>, 75<sup>23</sup>, II. 67<sup>32</sup> ff.

“ b. Kathīr ar-Rakķā, I. 75<sup>23</sup>, II. 133<sup>2</sup>.

Death, claim to avoid, II. 96<sup>12</sup>, 118<sup>26</sup> ff. *See* Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb.

Deilam, province, II. 33<sup>6</sup>.

Di'bīl, poet, II. 145.

Dietary, regulations, entirely abolished, *see* Precepts; swine partly permitted, I. 34<sup>1</sup>, II. 13<sup>1</sup>; cabbage forbidden, I. 53<sup>14</sup>, II. 73<sup>6</sup>, other vegetables, II. 76<sup>16</sup>, 110 f.; all fruits *or* vegetables raised in dung, I. 55<sup>3</sup>, II. 76<sup>16</sup>.

Dikrweih, *see* Zikrweih.

Dirār b. 'Amr, I. 30<sup>1</sup>, II. 9<sup>24</sup>.

Discussions, religious, forbidden, I. 35<sup>13</sup> ff., 49<sup>3</sup> ff., II. 15.

Docetism, I. 3 n. 1, II. 29 f., 128<sup>9</sup> ff. Cf. I. 45<sup>9</sup> f., 72<sup>7</sup>, II. 50 f., 119<sup>2</sup>.

Druzes, sect, II. 127<sup>4</sup>.

Du Manākh, tribe, I. 68 n. 8, II. 110<sup>16</sup>.

Eliezer, servant of Abraham, still alive, I. 46<sup>3</sup> f., II. 46<sup>17</sup>, 47<sup>11</sup>.

Elijah, still alive, I. 46, II. 46 ff.

Exaggerators, *or*

Extremists, *see* Ḍulāt.

al- Fadl, of Baṣra, I. 30<sup>18</sup>, II. 11<sup>2</sup>.

Faith, nature of, II. 8<sup>6</sup>, 9<sup>8</sup>.

Fakhr ad-Dîn ar-Râzî, II. 67<sup>16</sup>, 72 n. 2.  
 al- Faraj b. al-Hasan b. Haushab, *see* Ibn Haushab.  
 Fâris, province, I. 45<sup>18</sup>, II. 32<sup>10</sup>, 44<sup>15</sup>, 114<sup>33</sup>.  
 Fâtîma, I. 72<sup>2</sup>, II. 20<sup>11</sup>, 127<sup>33</sup> ff. ; descendants of, *see* Imamate.  
 Fatimids, II. 151<sup>4</sup>, n. 3. *See* 'Ubeidallah.  
 al- Fayyâd b. 'Alî, I. 66 f., II. 102 f., 104<sup>4</sup>.  
 Fifth, tax to *Imam*, I. 63<sup>8</sup>, II. 95<sup>27</sup>.

Gabriel (Jibril), I. 56, 80<sup>7</sup>, II. 77, 84 n. 2.

Gaiba, II. 27<sup>9</sup>, 28, 46<sup>1</sup>, 47<sup>37</sup>.

Ĝâliya, *see* Ĝulât.

Ĝifar, *see* Abû Ĝifar.

Gnosticism, II. 80 ff., 91<sup>6</sup>, 92<sup>1</sup>.

God, attributes, I. 31<sup>16</sup>, 61<sup>14</sup>, II. 88<sup>25</sup> ; his knowledge, I. 52 penult., II. 66<sup>22</sup> ; his will, I. 53<sup>10</sup>, II. 72<sup>8</sup> ; anthropomorphic conception of (Tashbih), I. 53<sup>1</sup> ff., 59, 61<sup>1</sup>, II. 67 f., 135<sup>17</sup> ; alphabet used for description of, I. 59<sup>6</sup>, II. 81<sup>23</sup> ; crown on his head, I. 59<sup>5</sup>, 13<sup>1</sup>, II. 81, 83 ; the Greatest Name (*and* names) of, I. 59<sup>12</sup>, II. 13<sup>21</sup>, II. 82 f., 87<sup>20</sup> ; more than *one* God, II. 88<sup>20</sup>, 90<sup>27</sup> ff. *See* Imams, Incarnation.

Ĝulât and Ĝuluww, I. 42 ult., 55 ff., 65 ff., II. 17<sup>27</sup>, 154 ; original meaning of, II. 12<sup>6</sup>, 145 n. 2 ; relation to *Shî'a*, I. 21, II. 76<sup>27</sup>, 116<sup>18</sup>, 152 ; excluded from Islam, I. 55 n. 7, II. 151 n. 8, 156 n. 1 ; smuggled into Islam by *Persians*, II. 16 f., by *Jews*, 17, into *Christianity* by Paul, 16<sup>28</sup> ff., 17 ; compared with *Christians*, II. 101. *See also* Imâmiyya, Rawâfiḍ, Shî'a, Zeidiyya.

Gurâbiyya, I. 56, II. 77.

Ĝuweir, drinking place, I. 67<sup>11</sup>, II. 103<sup>34</sup>.

Habashîyya (II. 94<sup>11</sup>), *see* Khashabîyya.

Habîb b. Aus, II. 68<sup>16</sup>.

Hadîth, *see* Traditions.

Hadramaut, II. 85<sup>19</sup>.

Hâjîr, mountain, I. 43 n. 7, II. 23<sup>6</sup>.

Hajj (Pilgrimage), I. 68, II. 107 f.

al- Hakam b. 'Uteiba, II. 130<sup>1</sup>.

Hakamîyya, *see* Hishâm b. al- Hakam.

Hakîma, *see* Hukeima.

al- Hallâj, I. 34<sup>13</sup>, 69<sup>17</sup>, II. 13<sup>19</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>4</sup>, 24 n. 2, 30<sup>12</sup>, 114 f.

Hallâjiyya, II. 13<sup>19</sup>.

al- Halwâni, II. 110<sup>1</sup>.

Hamadan, city, II. 128 n. 1.

Hamdân, tribe, I. 68 penult., II. 131 n. 1.

Hâmid b. al- 'Abbâs, I. 69<sup>19</sup>, II. 115<sup>6</sup>.

Hamrawiyya, *see* Ishâk b. Muhammed.

Hamza b. 'Omâra, II. 90<sup>12</sup>, 96<sup>3</sup>.

Harât, province, II. 44<sup>21</sup>, 119<sup>1</sup>.

Harb b. 'Abdallah, II. 125 n. 4.

Harbiyya, *see* 'Abdallah b. Harb.

al- Ḥârith (=Suleim b. Mas‘ûd), II. 125<sup>4</sup>.  
 “ ash-Sha‘mî, II. 90<sup>11</sup>.  
 Ḥârithiyya, *see* Iṣhâk b. Zeid.  
 Ḥarranians, II. 73<sup>7</sup>, 80<sup>28</sup>.  
 Ḥârûn b. Sa‘d, II. 106<sup>18</sup>, n. 5.

al- Hasan b. Abî Mangûr, I. 63 n. 10.  
 “ b. ‘Alî b. Abî Tâlib, II. 25<sup>14</sup>; descendants of, I. 55<sup>5</sup>, II. 75<sup>15,24</sup>; and al-*Husein*, I. 58<sup>4,11</sup>, 68<sup>3</sup>, 72<sup>3</sup>, 75<sup>13</sup>, II. 113<sup>22</sup>, 127<sup>37</sup> ff. *See* Imamate.  
 “ b. Muhammed al-‘Askarî, I. 48, 58<sup>1</sup>, 76, II. 52 f., 127<sup>2</sup>, 151<sup>5</sup>, n. 5.  
 “ b. “ b. Warṣand, *see* Ibn Warṣand.  
 “ b. Bahrâm. *see* Abû Sa‘îd al-Hasan.  
 “ b. Faraj b. Haushab, *see* Ibn Haushab.  
 “ b. al-Hasan b. ‘Alî b. Abî Tâlib, II. 27 n. 4.  
 “ b. Hayy (II. 131<sup>2</sup>), *see* al-*H*. b. Sâlih.  
 “ b. Ismâ‘îl b. al-*Husein*, I. 43 n. 11, II. 32 n. 2.  
 “ b. Ja‘far an-Nûbakhtî, I. 77<sup>4</sup>, II. 134<sup>8</sup>.  
 “ b. Sâlih b. Hayy (II. 130<sup>26</sup>), I. 30, 74 f., 79<sup>13</sup>, II. 129, 130 ff. Sâlihiyya, II. 129<sup>21</sup>, 131 n. 2.  
 Butriyya (or Buteiriyya), *see* al-Abtar.

Ḩâshim b. Ḥakîm, (II. 120<sup>7</sup>), *see* al-Muḳanna‘.

Ḩâshimiyya, sect, *see* Abû Ḥâshim.

Ḩâshimiyya, city, II. 121<sup>11</sup>.

Ḩâtim b. Muhammed, II. 111 n. 1.

al- Ḥaṭṭâb and Ḥaṭṭâbiyya (II. 112<sup>7</sup>), *see* Abû ‘l-Khaṭṭâb.  
 Hayy and Ḥayyân (= Sâlih), II. 131<sup>4</sup>.  
 Hell, *see* Paradise.

al- Ḥillî, II. 116<sup>24</sup>.  
 Hindoo, II. 76<sup>14</sup>, 99<sup>14</sup>.  
 Hishâm b. al-*Ḥakam*, I. 63<sup>2</sup>, 74<sup>22</sup>, II. 59<sup>25</sup>, 65, 132<sup>10</sup>; called Râfiqî, II. 150<sup>1</sup>; associates with a Khârijite, II. 10<sup>2</sup>, with Mûsa b. Ja‘far, II. 51<sup>17</sup>, with al-*Hasan* b. Sâlih, I. 74; disputes with Abû ‘l-*Hudâil*, I. 53<sup>1</sup>, II. 16<sup>2</sup>, 67, with Yahya b. Khâlid, 102 n. 3; views on nature of God, I. 53<sup>2</sup>, II. 67, on *Kalâm*, I. 31<sup>18</sup>, 52<sup>17</sup>, II. 66<sup>23</sup>, cf. 74 n. 1, on *Imamate*, I. 75<sup>22</sup>, II. 65<sup>23</sup> ff., cf. 133<sup>9</sup>.  
 Hishâmiyya (also referred to *Hishâm* b. Sâlim), II. 66<sup>9</sup>.  
 Ḥakamiyya, II. 66 n. 2.  
 “ b. Sâlim al-Juwâlikî, I. 75<sup>22</sup>, II. 15 n. 3, 66<sup>7</sup>, 132<sup>36</sup>.  
 Hishâmiyya, *see* preceding name.

Hukeima, I. 48<sup>10</sup>, II. 53<sup>27</sup>.  
 Hulûl, *see* Incarnation.  
 Hulûliyya, II. 13<sup>31</sup>.

Humeima, in Palestine, II. 89<sup>1</sup>.

Hureith b. Mas‘ûd, *see* Mas‘ûd b. Hureith.

al-Ḥusein b. Abī Maṇṣūr, I. 63<sup>10</sup>.  
 “ b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, I. 53<sup>15</sup>, II. 39<sup>5</sup>, 72<sup>12</sup>; revenge for, II. 93 n. 1, 94<sup>6</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup>; *pilgrimage* to, II. 107 n. 1; descendants of, I. 75<sup>18</sup>, II. 113<sup>18</sup>. *See* al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. A. T.  
 “ b. Faraj b. Ḥaushab, *see* Ibn Ḥaushab.  
 “ b. Ismā‘il b. Ibrāhīm, I. 43<sup>15</sup>, II. 31<sup>24</sup>, 32<sup>9</sup>.  
 “ b. al-Jarāḥ, I. 70 n. 2.  
 “ b. Maṇṣūr, *see* al-Hallāj.  
 “ b. Muhammed an-Najjār, I. 29<sup>25</sup>, II. 9<sup>18</sup>.  
 “ b. ‘Ubeidallah, I. 70 n. 2, II. 117<sup>7</sup>.  
 Ḥuseiniyya (II. 93 n. 1, 94<sup>12</sup>), *see* Khashabiyya.

Ibāqīyya, Khārijite sect, II. 9<sup>32</sup>.  
 Iblīs, I. 34<sup>4</sup>, II. 13<sup>3</sup>, 116<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ibn ‘Abbād Kāfi'l-Kufāt, II. 71<sup>13</sup>,  
 “ ‘Aun, I. 70 n. 2, II. 117<sup>14</sup>.  
 “ al-‘Arabī, I. 12, II. 47<sup>34</sup>.  
 “ ‘Ayāsh, I. 68, II. 108<sup>7</sup>.  
 “ Bābūye (*cf.* II. 3), II. 26<sup>33</sup>, n. 1. 30<sup>18</sup>.  
 “ Dāwud, II. 117<sup>1</sup>.  
 “ al-Farākīd (I. 69 n. 11, II. 115<sup>23</sup>), *see* ash-Shalmağānī.  
 “ Hāmid (I. 69 n. 9), *see* Hāmid b. al-‘Abbās.  
 “ al-Hanafīyya, *see* Muhammed b. al-Ḥ.  
 “ Ḥaushab, I. 68<sup>20</sup>, n. 8, II. 109.  
 “ Ḥazm, life, I. 9 ff.; writings, I. 11 f.; truthfulness, I. 15, 40 f., II. 21<sup>16</sup>; Zāhirite, I. 38 f., II. 11<sup>21</sup>, 20<sup>7</sup>, 26<sup>1</sup>, 128<sup>15</sup>; view on origin of *Shī‘a*, I. 35 f., II. 16 f., on division of its sects, I. 21 ff., on attributes of *God*, II. 88<sup>24</sup>; pamphlet against heterodox sects, I. 16 f., 39<sup>1</sup>; misrepresents al-Asḥ‘arī, II. 9<sup>1</sup>, quotes al-Jāhīz, II. 43 n. 5; plagiarized by al-Makrīzī, II. 8 n. 3, 16<sup>14</sup>.  
 “ Mītham (II. 60 n. 2), *see* ‘Alī b. M.  
 “ Muḳaffā', II. 56<sup>19</sup>.  
 “ Mumlik al-İṣfahānī, II. 133 n. 1.  
 “ Nāwus (I. 44 n. 9), *see* Nāwus.  
 “ an-Nu‘mān (II. 157 n. 4), *see* Muhammed b. Ja‘far b. an-N.  
 “ ar-RAWandī, *see* ar-RAWandī.  
 “ Sabā, *see* ‘Abdallah b. S.  
 “ as-Saudā (II. 18<sup>38</sup>), *see* ‘Abdallah b. Sabā.  
 “ Shādān, II. 59<sup>25</sup>.  
 “ ash-Shalmağānī, *see* ash-Shalmağānī.  
 “ at-Tammār (I. 79 n. 4), *see* at-Tammār.  
 “ Waki‘ al-Bunānī, II. 88 n. 2.  
 “ Warṣand al-Bajalī, I. 54 f., II. 75.  
 Bajaliyya, *ib.*  
 “ Zubeir, I. 75<sup>4</sup>, II. 94 n. 1.  
 Ibrāhīm b. Ahmād, *see* Ibn Abī ‘Aun.  
 “ b. al-Ashtar, II. 93<sup>10</sup>, n. 1 [add b.].

Idrīs b. Muhammed, II. 75<sup>17</sup>.  
 Idrisids, II. 75<sup>29</sup>.  
 'Ijl, tribe, II. 79<sup>31</sup>, 80 n. 4, 89, 97<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ḥjmā', I. 31<sup>1</sup>, II. 11<sup>29</sup>, 16<sup>11</sup>.  
 Ilāk, mountains, II. 120<sup>28</sup>.  
 al-'Ilbā' b. Dirā' (II. 101<sup>33</sup>), *see* 'Ulyān.  
 'Ilbā'iyya, or 'Ilbāniyya, II. 101<sup>29</sup>.  
 Ilhām, *see* Inspiration.  
 Ilhāmiyya, II. 54<sup>20</sup>.  
 Imams, divinity of, I. 34<sup>16</sup>, 68<sup>3</sup>, II. 13<sup>29</sup>, 101<sup>19</sup>, 112<sup>22</sup>, 113<sup>20</sup>, 152; *supernatural knowledge* of, II. 33<sup>19</sup>, 34<sup>25</sup>, 54 f., 105 f.; "speaking" and "silent," II. 92<sup>35</sup>, 112 n. 3; twelve (II. 78<sup>25</sup>), *see* Ithnā'ashariyya; seven (II. 79<sup>1</sup>), *see* Sab'iyya.  
 Imamate, fundamental doctrine of *Shī'a*, I. 31<sup>28</sup>, of *Khawārij*, I. 32<sup>2</sup>; book on, by Muhammed b. Ja'far b. an-Nu'mān, I. 50<sup>17</sup>, II. 59<sup>20</sup>; theory of, *see* Hishām b. al-Hakam; depends on personal qualification, according to *Zeidiyya* (and *Keisāniyya*, II. 34<sup>23</sup>), or hereditary and depends on *Nasṣ*, according to *Imāmiyya*, I. 22, 74 f., II. 22, 129<sup>9</sup>, 132<sup>21</sup>, 138-142; of Inferior, II. 141 n. 8, 149 n. 4, 155 n. 1; of *Kureish*, I. 74<sup>25</sup>, II. 132<sup>3</sup>, 158<sup>3</sup>, 157 penult., outside of *Kureish* I. 33<sup>6</sup>, II. 132<sup>9</sup>; of descendants of Ja'far b. Abī Tālib, II. 45<sup>1</sup>; of *Abū Bekr*, II. 60<sup>2</sup>; of 'Alī only, s.v., refuted by *Ibn Hazm*, II. 135<sup>26</sup> ff.; of all descendants of 'Alī, I. 75<sup>2</sup>, II. 35<sup>5</sup>, 130<sup>5</sup>, cf. I. 61 ult., or those of *Fatīma* (both according to *Zeidiyya*), I. 23, II. 22<sup>33</sup>, 131<sup>30</sup>, 132, 156<sup>14</sup>, 157 n. 6; of descendants of al-Ḥusein only (*Imāmiyya*), s.v. al-Ḥusein b. 'Alī; of those of al-Ḥasan only, s. v.; of Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya (*Keisāniyya*), I. 58<sup>11, 16</sup>, 77<sup>12</sup>, II. 34<sup>20</sup>, 79<sup>13</sup>, and his son *Abū Ḥashim*, I. 61<sup>18</sup>, II. 35<sup>11</sup>, 44<sup>8</sup>, who bequeathed it to 'Abbasids, II. 89<sup>3</sup>, 118<sup>17</sup>, 121<sup>29</sup>, 123<sup>16</sup>. *See also* 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, Ja'far b. Muhammed, Keisāniyya, Zeidiyya.  
 Imāmiyya, I. 44-55, 57; founder of, II. 60<sup>25</sup>; reject *Abū Bekr* and 'Omar, s.v., and denounce *Companions*, s.v., cf. II. 127<sup>32</sup>, hence called *Rawāfid*, s.v. = *Ithnā'ashariyya*, II. 151<sup>8</sup>, n. 6; believe in *Mahdi*, s.v.; in interpolation of *Koran*, s.v., in *Badā*, II. 72<sup>21</sup>; claim *Inspiration*, s.v.; and *Sunna*, II. 151; and *Mu'tazila*, s.v.; and *Shī'a*, I. 30<sup>13</sup>, II. 158; and *Keisāniyya*, I. 23, II. 34; and *Zeidiyya*, II. 149, *see* Imamate; and *Gulāt*, I. 55<sup>22</sup>, II. 18<sup>1</sup>, 76<sup>20</sup>, 151 f.; against *Gulāt*, II. 80<sup>15</sup>, 91, 113<sup>1</sup>, 133<sup>4</sup>, *see*, however, II. 86<sup>20</sup>, 116<sup>22</sup>; against *Docetism*, II. 30<sup>14</sup>, 43 n. 3; men designated as, II. 41 n. 2, 66<sup>19</sup>. *See* *Rawāfid*, *Shī'a*, *Zeidiyya*.  
 Incarnation, I. 34<sup>12</sup>, 37, II. 13<sup>28</sup>, 126<sup>2</sup>, 152; borrowed from *Christianity*, I. 3 n. 1, II. 101<sup>23</sup>; of *Abū Muslim*, II. 118, *al-Baṣrī*, 117<sup>29</sup>, *al-Hallāj*, 13<sup>20</sup>, 115 n. 1, *al-Mukanna'*, 120<sup>18</sup>; successive, *see* Clem-entines.  
 Inspiration, claim of, I. 35<sup>14</sup>, 49<sup>4</sup>, II. 16<sup>8</sup>, 54 f.  
 Ḥrāk; I. 4 f., II. 43<sup>18</sup>, 80, 141<sup>13</sup>, 145 n. 2. *See* *Babylonia*.  
 'Isa b. Mūsa, I. 43<sup>4</sup>, 68<sup>7</sup>, II. 23<sup>4</sup>, 108<sup>29</sup>.  
 " b. Zeid, II. 98<sup>11</sup>, 131<sup>9</sup>.

Işbahân, I. 45<sup>16</sup>, II. 44<sup>16</sup>, 45 n. 2, 46<sup>2</sup>, 122<sup>28</sup> ff., 145 n. 2.  
 al-İşbahânî, I. 68 n. 7, II. 108 f.  
 İshâk, agitator for *Abû Muslim*, II. 102 n. 4, 119<sup>13</sup>.  
 " b. İbrâhîm b. Mu'sâb, I. 43<sup>16</sup>, II. 32<sup>8,8</sup>.  
 " b. Kandâj, I. 67<sup>6</sup> ['*Abdallâh* is oversight], II. 108<sup>27</sup>.  
 " b. Muhammed al-Âhmar, I. 66<sup>19</sup>, II. 102 f.  
 İshâkiyya, II. 102<sup>13</sup>, n. 4, 127<sup>20</sup> ff., 128<sup>5</sup>.  
 Hamrawîyya, II. 102<sup>14</sup>.  
 " b. 'Omar, II. 102 n. 4.  
 İshâkiyya, *ib.*  
 " b. Suweid, II. 43<sup>6</sup>.  
 " b. Zeid al-Îârîth, II. 125<sup>13</sup> ff.  
 Harithîyya, *ib.*  
 İshâkiyya, 1) *see* İshâk b. Muhammed; 2) *see* İshâk b. 'Omar.  
 Ismâ'îl b. 'Abdallah ar-Ru'aînî, II. 18<sup>3</sup>.  
 " al-Bitâ'îkhî (II. 11<sup>26</sup>), *see* Abû Ismâ'îl.  
 " b. Ja'far, I. 45<sup>1</sup>, 76<sup>3</sup>, n. 1, II. 40<sup>2</sup>, 51<sup>27</sup>, 133<sup>36</sup>.  
 Ismâ'îliyya, I. 87<sup>12</sup>, II. 19<sup>27</sup>, 20<sup>3</sup>, 51<sup>25</sup>, 133<sup>27</sup>, 151<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ithnâ'ashâriyya, I. 58, II. 40 n. 2, 52, 78<sup>25</sup> ff., 133<sup>39</sup>, 150 n. 6, 151, 152 n. 4.  
 İyâq, Kâdi, II. 69<sup>25</sup>.

al-Jâbia, in Syria, II. 85<sup>20</sup>.  
 Jâbir b. Yazîd al-Ju'fî, I. 60<sup>2</sup>, II. 23<sup>34</sup>, 24<sup>1</sup>, 86<sup>11</sup>, 87<sup>27</sup>.  
 Ja'far b. 'Alî, uncle of the *Mahdî*, I. 76<sup>21</sup> ff., II. 134<sup>3</sup>.  
 " b. Muhammed Abû 'Abdallah aş-Sâdîk, II. 41<sup>10</sup>; and his son  
 Ismâ'îl, II. 133<sup>38</sup>; commanding position in *Shî'a*, II. 104 ff.; esteemed also by *Sunna*, II. 79<sup>2</sup>, 105<sup>13</sup>; one of the twelve *Imams*, I. 58<sup>5</sup>; Imam instead of *Zeid* b. 'Alî, II. 139; his *Imamate* unanimously acknowledged, I. 68<sup>5</sup>, 75<sup>20</sup> ff., II. 51<sup>10</sup>, 104<sup>26</sup>, 132<sup>31</sup>, 151<sup>1</sup>; dissension after his death, I. 76<sup>2</sup> ff., II. 89<sup>9</sup>; is still alive and will *return*, I. 44 penult., 76<sup>6</sup>, 112<sup>9</sup>; divinity of, I. 69<sup>7</sup>, II. 97<sup>4</sup>, 112, 114 n. 1; omniscient, II. 106: *hajj* in his honor, *s.v.*; apocryphal utterances (cf. II. 105<sup>4</sup>) against: allegorical interpretation of *Koran*, II. 14<sup>27, 32</sup>; religious *discussions*, II. 15<sup>18</sup> ff., *Badâ*, 72<sup>26</sup>, *Tâfuîd*, 91<sup>15</sup>, *supernatural knowledge* of *Imams*, 105<sup>24</sup>, *Mûsâwiyya*, 40 n. 2, 'Omar, 65<sup>1</sup>, *Zeidiyya*, 159<sup>16</sup>, *Muğîra* b. Sa'îd, 80<sup>16</sup>, *Abû 'l-Khaṭfâb*, 113, *ash-Shalmağânî*, 117<sup>1</sup>, and other *âlî*, 90<sup>3</sup>, 96<sup>1</sup> ff.; men belonging to his circle, II. 41 n. 2, 59<sup>15</sup>, 60 n. 3, 65, 66 n. 1, 91 n. 1, 133<sup>33</sup>.  
 Ja'fariyya, II. 80<sup>4</sup>, 107<sup>12</sup>.  
 Jafr, book attributed to *Ja'far*, II. 106, 112<sup>20</sup>.  
 al-Jâhîz, I. 50, II. 56 ff., 104<sup>35</sup>, 121<sup>21</sup>, 124<sup>3</sup>, 148<sup>19</sup>.  
 Jâhizîyya, II. 56<sup>10, 30</sup>.  
 Jahm b. Șafwân, I. 29<sup>15</sup> ff., 31<sup>16</sup>, II. 78<sup>2</sup>, 81<sup>5</sup>, 14<sup>39</sup>, 15<sup>2</sup>, 74<sup>3</sup>.  
 Jahmiyya, II. 8<sup>4</sup>.

Janad, in *Yemen*, II. 110<sup>5</sup>.

Janâhiyya, *see* Mu‘âwiya b. ‘Abdallah.

Jannâba, town, II. 108<sup>21</sup> ff.

Jarîr b. Keis, II. 43<sup>19</sup>.

Jarfîriyya, *see* Suleimân b. Jarîr.

Jârûdiyya, *see* Abû ‘l-Jârûd.

al-Jauzî, Jamâl ad-Dîn, II. 69 n. 1.

Jehuda Halevi, II. 104<sup>16</sup>.

Jesus, return at end of Time, I. 47<sup>13</sup>, II. 37<sup>17</sup>, 49<sup>15</sup>; divinity of, I. 62<sup>11</sup>, II. 11<sup>10</sup>, 16<sup>31</sup>, 17<sup>21</sup>, 90 f.; unreal (*Docetism*), II. 29; miracles, II. 82 n. 2; compared with ‘Alî, I. 66<sup>15</sup>, II. 101, with the *Mahdî*, II. 52<sup>35</sup>, 53 f., with *Muhammed*, II. 24<sup>19</sup>, 24. Cf. Christianity.

Jews, Jewish, and Judaism, believe in miracles of *Jesus*, s. v.; bribed Paul II, 16<sup>26</sup>, 17<sup>16</sup>, n. 4; and *Shî‘a*, II. 19, 95<sup>2</sup>, 135<sup>7,16</sup>; and *Çulâd*, s. v.; and *Badâ*, II. 72<sup>24</sup>; and *Tashbîh*, II. 135<sup>19</sup>; believe in Immortals, I. 46, II. 46 ff.; sects, II. 90<sup>17</sup>; Jewish illustrations, II. 85<sup>5</sup>, 96<sup>18</sup>. See ‘Abdallah b. Sabâ, Cabbala, Messiah.

Joshua, *see* ‘Ali.

al-Jubbâ‘î, II. 58<sup>23</sup>, 66<sup>26</sup>; cf. 108<sup>19</sup>.

al-Ka‘bî, II. 57<sup>4</sup>.

Ķadar (Free Will), II. 9<sup>15,26</sup>.

Ķafša, district and town, I. 54<sup>14</sup>, II. 75<sup>31</sup>.

Kalâm, doctrine, II. 12<sup>2</sup>, 66<sup>5</sup>, 73<sup>34</sup>.

Ķanbar, I. 66<sup>10</sup>, II. 99<sup>32</sup> ff.

Ķarâķirîyya, sect; *see* ash-Shalmağâni.

Karbiyya, *see* Abû Karb.

Karmatians, I. 37<sup>13</sup>, 58<sup>10</sup>, 68<sup>17</sup>, II. 19<sup>32</sup>, 20<sup>4</sup>, 54<sup>20</sup>, 133<sup>30</sup>; emissaries of, II. 17<sup>8</sup> ff., 95<sup>21</sup>, 97<sup>19</sup>, 108 ff.; *seven Imams* of, II. 79<sup>6</sup>, 90<sup>1</sup>; believe in *Transmigration*, II. 64<sup>13</sup>; *dietary* restrictions of, II. 73<sup>4</sup>; fifty *prayers* of, s. v.

Karrâmiyya, *see* Muhammed b. Karrâm.

al-Kashshi, II. 4 n. 2.

al-Ķâsim b. ‘Abdallah (*or* ‘Ubeidallah) b. Suleimân, I. 67<sup>16</sup>, II. 104<sup>1</sup>.

Kastîlia, province in North Africa, I. 54<sup>15</sup>, II. 75<sup>10</sup>, 76<sup>1</sup>.

Kathîr an-Nawwâ, II. 129<sup>31</sup>. See al-Abtar.

Kat‘iyya, *see* Kitṭî‘iyya.

Kâze keimân dât, town, II. 120<sup>8</sup>.

Keisân, II. 33.

“ Abû ‘Omra, I. 44<sup>6</sup>, 77<sup>10</sup>, II. 34.

Keisâniyya, origin, II. 33 f.; position within *Shî‘a*, I. 23, II. 34 f., 155, 156 n. 3; accept *Imamate* of ‘Alî, al-Hasan, al-Husein and *Muhammed b. al-Hasanîyya*, I. 58<sup>12</sup>, 77<sup>12</sup>, II. 79<sup>11</sup> ff.; the latter hidden in *Râdwa*, I. 44<sup>6</sup> ff., 77 ult., II. 25<sup>26</sup> ff., 35 ff., 95<sup>19</sup>; use wooden arms only, hence called *Khashabiyya*, I. 63<sup>1</sup>, n. 1, II. 93 ff.; believe in *Badâ*, I. 53<sup>10</sup>, II. 72<sup>12</sup>, in *Transmigration*, I. 34<sup>17</sup>, 52<sup>25</sup>, II. 63<sup>29</sup>, 64<sup>14</sup>, in eternity of *world*, I. 54<sup>11</sup>; factions among, I. 45<sup>12</sup> ff., II. 35, 44<sup>7</sup>, 102 n. 4, 118 n. 3, 121<sup>30</sup>. See *Imamate*, *Zeidiyya*.

Kelb, tribe, II. 97<sup>20</sup>.  
 al-Kelbī, II. 25<sup>11</sup>, 100 n. 2.  
 al-Khaḍīr, prophet, I. 46 f., II. 47<sup>27</sup>, 48, 49<sup>8</sup>.  
 Khālid b. ‘Abdallah al-Keṣrī, I. 59<sup>2</sup>, 60, 65<sup>1</sup> (cf. II. 97<sup>5</sup>), II. 79 f., 86 f., 100<sup>24</sup>, 107<sup>14</sup>.  
 Khamṭ, mother of *Mahdi*, II. 54<sup>10</sup>.  
 Kharbiyya, *see* ‘Abdallah b. al-Kharb.  
 Khashabiyya, *see* Keisānīyya.  
 Khaṭṭābiyya, *see* Abū ‘l-Khaṭṭāb.  
 Khawārij, I. 30<sup>14</sup>, 31 penult., 33<sup>1</sup>, 23, II. 9<sup>28</sup>, 76<sup>6</sup>, 93<sup>2</sup>, 159<sup>10</sup>.  
 Khidāsh, I. 36<sup>11</sup>, 65<sup>5</sup>, II. 98.  
 Khindif al-Asadī, II. 42<sup>5</sup> [*Khandak* is oversight], 94<sup>21</sup>.  
 Khorāsān, I. 44 n. 1, 65 n. 5, II. 101<sup>5</sup>, 118<sup>14</sup>, 119<sup>5</sup>, 122<sup>28</sup>, 123<sup>5</sup>, 29, 128<sup>34</sup>.  
 Khurramiyya, II. 19<sup>39</sup>, 119<sup>6</sup>.  
 Kisfiyya, *see* Abū Maṣnūr.  
 Kitṭī‘iyya, I. 47<sup>19</sup> ff., II. 26<sup>8</sup>, 40<sup>21</sup>, 49 ff.  
 Koran, interpolated (Tabdīl), I. 50<sup>18</sup>, 51 f., II. 60<sup>3</sup>, 61 ff., 153 n. 6, cf. also I. 38<sup>27</sup>, II. 12<sup>19</sup>; allegorical interpretation of, I. 35, 73 n. 2, II. 14<sup>18</sup>, 45<sup>13</sup>, 107; in Berberic language, II. 49<sup>24</sup>.  
 KSR (?) (I. 68 n. 7), *see* al-İṣbahānī.  
 Kufa, ‘Alī in, II. 39<sup>3</sup>, 43 n. 3, 78<sup>6</sup>, 99<sup>23</sup>, al-Mukhtār in, II. 93, Muhammed b. al-Kāsim, II. 33<sup>4</sup>; Yahya b. ‘Omar, I. 43<sup>12</sup>, Zeid b. ‘Alī, II. 138 f.; Zenj, I. 65 n. 2: ‘Alī b. Mithām, II. 60<sup>20</sup>, al-Hasan b. Sāliḥ, I. 74 ult., II. 131<sup>12</sup>, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, I. 63<sup>3</sup>, 74 ult., II. 65<sup>13</sup>, n. 4, 67<sup>1</sup>, Ibn Ḥaushab, I. 68 n. 8; people of, known as stingy and treacherous, II. 140 n. 6.; Ǧulāt in, I. 62<sup>6</sup>, 64, 68 f., 71<sup>2</sup>, II. 79<sup>36</sup>, 89<sup>29</sup>, 97<sup>4</sup>, 107; Persian spoken in, II. 78<sup>10</sup>.  
 Kureish, II. 39<sup>20</sup>, 89<sup>31</sup>, 90<sup>6</sup>. *See* Imamate.  
 Kuthayyir, II. 134<sup>18</sup>; *Keisānīte*, I. 77<sup>14</sup>, II. 25<sup>27</sup>, 35<sup>19</sup>, 79<sup>15</sup>; Keisānītic poem ascribed to him (*or as-Sayyid*), II. 38 f.; *Khashabī*, II. 94<sup>23</sup>, 95<sup>16</sup>; believes in his own *return*, II. 24<sup>8</sup>, 27 n. 2, in *Transmigration*, II. 26<sup>26</sup>, 27 n. 4, 45<sup>6</sup>; aids *Khindif*, II. 42<sup>5</sup>; denounces *Companions*, II. 143 f.  
  
 Lamās, tribe, II. 75<sup>8</sup>.  
 Logic, elimination of, from religion, II. 15.  
 Luminaries, creation of, I. 59<sup>21</sup>, II. 84<sup>36</sup> ff.  
  
 Madāin, city, I. 42<sup>19</sup>, n. 6.  
 al-Madā’īnī, II. 57<sup>18</sup>.  
 Maghrib, *Karmatians* in, II. 109 ff.  
 Mâgûs, tribe, II. 75<sup>7</sup>.  
 Mahdi, Caliph, II. 39<sup>18</sup>, 131<sup>11</sup>.  
 “ = *Messiah*, s. v., cf. I. 36<sup>19</sup>; of the *Ithnā‘ashariyya*, *see* Muhammed b. al-Hasan b. ‘Alī; traditions about, II. 30<sup>35</sup> ff., 53<sup>18</sup> ff.  
 al-Makrīzī, I. 7. II. (4). 8<sup>24</sup>, 16<sup>14</sup>.

Malchizedek, I. 46<sup>2</sup>, II. 46 f.

Mâlikiyya, II. 76<sup>12</sup>, 117<sup>11</sup>.

al-Mamṭûra, sect (= *Mûsawiyya*), I. 44<sup>16</sup>, II. 40, 51<sup>14</sup>, 60<sup>31</sup>.

al-Ma'mûn, Caliph, II. 59<sup>27</sup>.

Mandæan, influence, I. 4, II. 80 ff., 84<sup>18</sup>, 87<sup>29</sup>.

Mani, II. 80<sup>25</sup>.

Manichæan, influence, I. 4, II. 29 f., 80, 87<sup>1</sup>, 104<sup>8</sup>.

al-Manṣûr, Caliph, I. 70 penult., II. 100 f., 118<sup>7</sup>, 119<sup>2</sup>, 121<sup>12</sup> ff., 125 n. 4, 140 n. 3.

‘ an-Namari, poet, II. 153 n. 6.

‘ , title of *Karmatian* missionary-in-chief, II. 109.

Manṣûriyya, *see* Abû Manṣûr.

Marcus, Gnostic, II. 82<sup>1</sup>.

Marriage, with forbidden relations, I. 33<sup>25</sup>, II. 12<sup>16</sup>; with nine wives, I. 53<sup>18</sup>, cf. II. 73<sup>1</sup>.

al-Masâ'il an-Nâṣiriyya, book, II. 29 footnote.

Maṣâmida (*or* Maṣmûda), tribe, I. 54<sup>16</sup>, II. 76<sup>10</sup>.

Mas'ûd b. Ḥureith, II. 111<sup>5</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>.

Mawâli, II. 34, 94<sup>16</sup>, 107 n. 2.

Mazdak, I. 37<sup>15</sup>, II. 19<sup>35</sup>, 120<sup>1</sup>.

Mazdakiyya, II. 19<sup>37</sup>, 20<sup>2</sup>.

Medina, I. 43<sup>3</sup>, II. 39 n. 2.

Meimûn al-Kaddâh, II. 113 n. 3.

Meimûniyya, *ib.*

Meimûniyya, Khârijite sect, II. 12<sup>16</sup>, 19<sup>1</sup>.

Mekka, I. 53 n. 1, II. 42<sup>6</sup>, 67, 94<sup>3</sup>, n. 1.

Merv, city, I. 70 n. 7, II. 119<sup>1</sup>, 120<sup>8</sup>.

Messiah, *and* Messianism, I. 3 n. 1, 45<sup>4</sup>, II. 36 ff., 43<sup>14</sup>, 94<sup>27</sup> ff.

Metempsychosis, *see* Transmigration of Souls.

Methusalem, I. 46 n. 1, II. 46<sup>21</sup>, n. 8.

Miṣlâs b. Abî 'l-Khaṭṭâb, *see* Abû 'l-Khaṭṭâb.

Milal wa'ñ-Nîhal, literature on, I. 5; by *Ibn Hazm*, literary character of, I. 12 ff., manuscripts of, 17 ff., compared with work of ash-Shahrastâni, 16.

Mîmîyya, II. 108<sup>4</sup>.

Mîtham at-Tammar, II. 60<sup>16</sup>.

Moses, II. 70<sup>16</sup>, 116<sup>7</sup>, 135<sup>31</sup>.

Mu'ammâr, I. 64<sup>9</sup>, 69<sup>14</sup>, II. 96<sup>3</sup>, 21, 114<sup>12</sup> ff.

Mu'ammariyya, II. 74<sup>19</sup>, 113<sup>27</sup>, 114<sup>11</sup>.

‘ b. 'Abbâd, II. 114<sup>13</sup>.

Mu'âwiya, Caliph, I. 75<sup>2</sup>, II. 145 n. 2, 148<sup>19</sup>.

‘ b. 'Abdallah Dû'l-Janâhein, II. 27 n. 4, 44<sup>25</sup>, 45<sup>4</sup>, n. 2.

Janâhiyya, II. 44<sup>24</sup>.

Mufaddal- as-Seirâfi, II. 96<sup>26</sup>.

Mufawwidâ, sect, *see* Tafwîd.

al-Muḡîra b. Sa'îd, I. 34<sup>21</sup>, 59 f., II. 31<sup>8</sup>, 79 ff., 90<sup>10</sup>, 96<sup>2</sup>; called *Sabâ'i*, II. 100<sup>27</sup>, 30. *See* Rawâfid.

Muġīriyya, II. 87<sup>24</sup>, n. 2, 96<sup>1</sup>, 153<sup>17</sup>; *terrorists*, I. 62<sup>19</sup>, II. 92<sup>17</sup>; *hajj* in honor of *Ja'far as-Ṣādīk*, II. 107<sup>13</sup>; relation to *Khatṭābiyya*, II. 97<sup>13</sup>.

al-Muġira b. Shu'ba, II. 140 n. 1.

Muħallab, II. 93<sup>20</sup>.

Muhammed, the Prophet, resembled 'Alī, I. 56, II. 77 f., hence mistaken for him, *ib.*; apostle of 'Alī, but usurped prophecy, I. 66 ult. (cf. I. 56), II. 102<sup>1</sup>, 116<sup>1</sup>, 127<sup>18</sup>; responsible for strife about *Imamate*, I. 55<sup>11</sup>, 80<sup>1</sup>, cf. II. 76<sup>23</sup>; divinity of, I. 67<sup>2</sup>, 68<sup>2</sup>, II. 102 f., Demiurge, 91<sup>8</sup>; *return* of, II. 24<sup>14</sup>, 25 n. 1; stops sun, II. 69<sup>4</sup>, 71<sup>27</sup>. See 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, Mystic lore.

Muhammediyya, believe in his divinity, I. 67<sup>1</sup>, II. 102 f.

Muhammed b. 'Abdallah, Kātib, I. 47<sup>6</sup>, II. 48<sup>23</sup>.

" b. " b. al-Hasan, I. 43<sup>1</sup> ff., 60<sup>10</sup>, n. 5, 64<sup>3</sup>, II. 23<sup>8</sup>, 30<sup>11</sup>, 31<sup>9</sup>, 86<sup>14</sup>, 87.

Muhammediyya, II. 86<sup>16</sup>, 102 n. 5.

" b. " b. Tāhir, I. 43<sup>13</sup>, II. 31<sup>14</sup>.

" b. 'Abd as-Salām, called Shukk al-Leil, I. 47<sup>3</sup> [see II. 48<sup>15</sup>], II. 48<sup>16</sup>, n. 1.

" b. Abī Zeinab, *see* Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb.

" b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallah b. al-'Abbās, II. 123<sup>15</sup>.

" b. " b. Abī Tālib, *see* M. b. al-Ḥanafīyya.

" b. " b. al-Ḥusein al-Bākir, I. 58<sup>5</sup>, 64<sup>2</sup>, 68<sup>4</sup>, 75<sup>20</sup>, II. 22<sup>9</sup>, 80<sup>17</sup>, 95<sup>33</sup>, 139.

" b. " b. Mūsa, I. 48<sup>10</sup>, 58<sup>6</sup>, 76<sup>8</sup>.

" b. " b. an-Nu'man (II. 59<sup>6</sup>), *see* M. b. Ja'far.

" b. " b. ash-Shalmaqān, *see* ash-Shalmaqānī.

" b. al-Faḍl, *see* 'Alī b. al-F.

" b. Ḥabib, II. 109<sup>54</sup>.

" b. al-Ḥanafīyya, significance of *name*, II. 53 n. 3; worshipped by *Keisāniyya*, s.v.; defended by *Khašabīyya*, II. 94<sup>3</sup>; *supernatural knowledge* of, II. 33, cf. 12<sup>2</sup>.

" b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī, *Mahdi* of *Ithnā'ashariyya*, I. 47 f., 58<sup>7</sup>, 76, II. 52 ff., 61<sup>17</sup>; "man of the cellar," II. 27<sup>11</sup>, 134<sup>12</sup> ff., cf. I. 77 n. 7.

" b. Iṣhāk b. Ibrāhīm, II. 32<sup>8</sup>.

" b. Ismā'il b. Ja'far b. Muhammed, *Mahdi* of *Sab'iyya* (and *Karmatians*), I. 58<sup>9</sup>, 68<sup>16</sup>, II. 79<sup>8</sup>, 108<sup>14</sup>.

" b. Ja'far b. Muhammed, I. 76<sup>5</sup>.

" b. " b. an-Nu'mān, called Sheiṭān aṭ-Ṭāk, I. 31<sup>19</sup>, 50 f., 75 penult., II. 15 n. 3, 59, 65 n. 2, 150<sup>9</sup>, 157 n. 4.

Nu'māniyya, II. 59<sup>13</sup>.

Sheiṭāniyya, II. 59<sup>13</sup>, 66<sup>24</sup>.

" b. Karrām, I. 29<sup>16</sup> ff., II. 8<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>6</sup>.

Karrāmiyya, II. 8<sup>5</sup>.

" b. al-Ķāsim b. 'Alī, I. 44<sup>1</sup>, II. 32<sup>17</sup> ff.

Muhammed b. an-Nu'mân, *see* M. b. Ja'far b. an-N.

" b. Nuşerî, II. 127<sup>2</sup>.

" b. Sâlih b. Mu'âwiya, II. 45 n. 2.

" b. Wrstd, *see* Ibn Warşand.

" b. Ya'kûb. II. 42<sup>28</sup> f.  
Ya'kûbiyya, *ib.*

" b. Zakariyya ar-Râzî, II. 64<sup>11</sup>.

Muhammedîyya: 1) *see* Muhammed, the Prophet; *see* Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. al-Hasan.

Mujabbira (or Mujbara), sect, II. 9<sup>21</sup>, 11<sup>27</sup>, 88 n. 2.

al-Mukaddasî, on number of sects, I. 6; and *Shî'a*, II. 145 n. 2.

al-Mukanna', I. 36<sup>9</sup>, 70<sup>9</sup>, II. 120 f.

Mukâtil b. Suleimân, I. 31<sup>17</sup>, II. 11<sup>30</sup>, 67<sup>10</sup>.

al-Mukhtâr b. Abî 'Ubeid, I. 44<sup>1</sup>, 58<sup>18</sup>, 77<sup>10</sup>, II. 17<sup>8</sup>, 33 f., 72, 79<sup>17</sup>, 93 f.  
Mukhtâriyya, II. 33<sup>25</sup>, 79<sup>18</sup>.

Mu'min aṭ-Tâk (II. 59<sup>12</sup>), *see* Muhammed b. Ja'far b. an-Nu'mân.

Murji'i'a, sect, I. 29<sup>10</sup>, 31<sup>7</sup>, 32, 34<sup>3</sup>, II. 7<sup>23, 30</sup>, 11<sup>31</sup>, 21<sup>27</sup>, 152 penult.

Mûsa b. Ja'far b. Muhammed al-Kâzîm, I. 44<sup>16</sup>, 58<sup>5</sup>, 76<sup>8</sup>, II. 39<sup>15</sup>, 151<sup>5</sup>.  
Mûsawiyya. II. 40, 50 ff., 60<sup>31</sup>, 75<sup>27</sup>.

Mu'sâb, II. 93<sup>15</sup>.

Mushabbiha, sect, II. 9<sup>7</sup>. *Cf.* Tashbîh.

Muslîmiyya, *see* Abû Muslim.

al-Mu'taqîd, Caliph, I. 67<sup>8</sup>, 77<sup>24</sup>.

al-Mu'tâsim, " II. 32<sup>25</sup>.

al-Mutawakkil, " II. 156<sup>10</sup>.

Mu'tazila, I. 29<sup>24</sup>, 31<sup>12</sup>, 32<sup>15</sup>, 33 penult., II. 9, 21<sup>31</sup>; origin of name, II. 138 n. 1; *Transmigration*, II. 63<sup>26</sup>, other doctrines, II. 66<sup>26</sup>, 93<sup>1</sup>; and *Shî'a*, II. 11<sup>33</sup> ff., and *Imâmiyya*, 11<sup>34</sup>, cf. 63<sup>11</sup>, and *Zeidiyya* 11<sup>37</sup> ff.

Muẓaffar b. Ardshîr, *see* Abû Manṣûr Muẓaffar.

Mystic lore (supernatural knowledge), of *Muhammed*, I. 38, II. 20<sup>12</sup>, of 'Alî, II. 33, of *Muhammed b. al-Hanâfiyya*, II. 33 f. *See* Imams.

Nafaliyya, *see* Bakliyya.

Naftâ, city in district of *Kafṣâ*, s.v.

an-Nahkînî (II. 103<sup>19</sup>), *see* al-Bhnkî.

Nâhliyya (=Bajaliyya, I. 54 n. 6, n. 8), *see* Ibn Warşand.

an-Najjâr, 1) *see* al-Husein b. Muhammed; 2) *see* Ibn Haushab.

Nâkâliyya, *see* Bakliyya.

Name, of *God*, s.v.; of 'Alî, I. 53 penult., II. 73; identical with that of Prophet, II. 53, 87<sup>22</sup>; allusions to, found in *Koran*, I. 61<sup>16</sup>, 62<sup>3</sup>, II. 88<sup>27</sup>, cf. I. 35, II. 14.

Narjis, mother of *Mahdi*, I. 48<sup>13</sup>, 76<sup>16</sup>, II. 54<sup>10</sup>.

Naṣâriyya, citadel, II. 126<sup>33</sup>.

Naskh ("abrogation"). II. 72<sup>10, 25</sup>.

Naṣîriyya (II. 126<sup>25</sup>), *see* Nuṣeiriyya.

Nâss, written bequest, of *Muhammed* to 'Alî, I. 22, 73 ff., II. 66<sup>21</sup>, 158<sup>2</sup>; of *or* through 'Alî to al-Hasan and al-Husein, I. 75<sup>14</sup>, II. 132<sup>29</sup>, to *Muhammed b. al-Hanafîyya*, II. 34 n. 3; of *Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdîk* to one of his sons, II. 132<sup>33</sup>; hidden by *Companions*, s.v.; point of issue between *Imâmiyya* and *Zeidiyya*, *see* *Imamate*.

Nawâṣib, nickname for opponents of *Shî'a*, II. 159.

Nâwus, I. 44<sup>20</sup>, II. 41.

Nâwusiyya, *ib.*

an-Nazzâm, I. 50<sup>14</sup>, 51<sup>2</sup>, II. 11<sup>14</sup>, 56<sup>5</sup>, 57<sup>14</sup>, 58, 60<sup>24</sup>, 64<sup>9</sup>, 74 n. 1.

Nisâbûr, I. 73<sup>6</sup>, II. 123<sup>6</sup>.

Nisba, influence of, on enumeration of sects, I. 7 f.; artificial formation of, II. 119 n. 2.

Nisibis, II. 93<sup>21</sup>.

Nu'mâniyya, *see* *Muhammed b. Ja'far b. an-Nu'mân*.

Nuseirî, II. 127<sup>5</sup>.

Nuṣeiriyya, I. 71 f., II. 18<sup>50</sup>, 102<sup>18</sup>, 116<sup>12</sup>, 126 ff.

‘Omar, *see* *Abû Bekr*.

Omayya b. Abî Salt, II. 28 n. 1.

‘Omeir at-Tabbân, I. 64<sup>10</sup>, II. 96<sup>28</sup>.

‘Omeiriyya, II. 97<sup>3</sup>.

Osrushna, province, II. 101 n. 1.

‘Othmân, Caliph, interpolated *Koran*, II. 61<sup>28</sup> ff.; uprising against, I. 37<sup>10</sup>, II. 19<sup>24</sup>; hated by *Imâmiyya*, I. 52 n. 5, and *Khawârij*, II. 64<sup>24</sup>, while *Zeidiyya* vacillating, *see* I. 74<sup>17</sup>, II. 129<sup>20</sup>, 132<sup>15</sup> and 129<sup>26</sup>, 130<sup>4</sup>, 139 n. 1.

“ al-Khashabî, II. 93<sup>19</sup>.

Paradise, nine enter while alive, II. 47<sup>12</sup>; and Hell will decay, I. 54<sup>9</sup>, II. 15<sup>1</sup>, 73 f., cf. 75<sup>2</sup>.

Paul, apostle, *see* *Gûlât*.

Persians, and *Shî'a*, I. 35 f., II. 16; and al-Mukhtâr, II. 94<sup>1</sup>; absorb 'Ijl, II. 80 n. 4; derivate 'Alî, II. 78<sup>9</sup>; call themselves “sons” and “nobles,” I. 35 ult., II. 18<sup>5</sup>; Persian language, II. 90<sup>22</sup>, 93<sup>26</sup>, cf. 78<sup>9</sup>.

Phinehas, still alive, I. 46<sup>6</sup>, II. 46<sup>12</sup>, 47<sup>22</sup>.

Pilgrimage, *see* *Hajj*.

Prayers, two a day, I. 33<sup>24</sup>; seventeen (or nineteen), I. 37<sup>4</sup>, n. 3, 71<sup>4</sup>, n. 4, II. 126<sup>5</sup>; fifty, I. 37<sup>2</sup>, II. 18<sup>29</sup>.

Precepts, religious, *saints* exempt from, I. 34<sup>11</sup>, 37<sup>1</sup>, 73<sup>3</sup>, II. 13<sup>16</sup>, 14<sup>15</sup>; have inner meaning, I. 35, II. 14, 107, 129<sup>5</sup>; abolished by *Abû Manṣûr*, I. 62<sup>17</sup>, by *Hârithîyya*, II. 125<sup>14</sup>, by *Imâmiyya*, 61<sup>20</sup>, by *Karmatians*, 109<sup>5</sup>, by *Khaṭṭâbiyya*, 14, 112<sup>15</sup>, by al-Mukanna', 120<sup>25</sup>.

Prophecy, can be acquired, I. 34<sup>6</sup>, II. 18<sup>8</sup>; inadmissible after *Muhammed*, I. 47<sup>11</sup>, 55 n. 7, 56<sup>1</sup>, II. 49, 76<sup>38</sup>, 92<sup>9</sup>; True Prophet, *see* *Clementines*.

Ptahil, deity of Mandæans, II. 84<sup>25</sup>.

ar-**Râdi**, Caliph, I. 70 n. 2.

Râdwa, mountain, I. 43 n. 7, 44<sup>10</sup>, 77 ult., II. 35 ff., 39<sup>13</sup>, 95<sup>18</sup>.

Raj'a, *see* Return; miscellaneous uses of word, II. 28 n. 1.

ar-Rashîd, Caliph, II. 39<sup>19</sup>, 58<sup>28</sup>.

Ray, city, I. 78 n. 2, II. 134<sup>38</sup>; mountains, II. 119<sup>15</sup>.

Rawâfiq, term, *see* Appendix A; different forms of word, II. 137, origin, 138 ff., supposed to have been coined by al-*Mugîra* b. Sa'îd, 139 f., coined by Zeid b. 'Alî, 139, 141<sup>4</sup>, 142 n. 6, derogatory meaning of, 138 n. 1, 140 n. 3; = "repudiators" (of *Abû Bekr* and 'Omar and Companions), II. 64 f., 142 ff.; and *Shî'a*, II. 146 ff.; applied to *Keisâniyya*, II. 156 n. 3, to *Imâmiyya* (excluding *Zeidiyya*), I. 44<sup>16</sup>, 47<sup>19</sup>, II. 148 ff., to *Ithnâ'ashâriyya*, 151, to *Gulât* 151 ff., to all Shiitic sects (including *Zeidiyya*), 154 ff.; acknowledge *Imamate* of *Ja'far as-Sâdîk*, II. 104<sup>28</sup>, 150 ult.; are no Muslims, II. 62<sup>8</sup>, 153<sup>6</sup>; compared with *Jews*, II. 19<sup>20</sup>, with *Christians*, 142 n. 2, worse than *Jews* and *Christians*, 144<sup>4</sup>, cf. 77<sup>18</sup>. *See* *Shî'a*.

Râwand, near *Ishbâhân*, II. 122<sup>26</sup>; = Riwand (in *Khorâsân*), II. 123.

ar-Râwandi, II. 123 f.

Râwandiyya, I. 70<sup>13</sup>, II. 100<sup>32</sup>, 121 ff., 153<sup>2</sup>.

Reappearance, *see* Return.

Resurrection, denied, II. 45<sup>12</sup>, 74<sup>24</sup>.

Return, after death (*Raj'a*), I. 34 ult., II. 28–28, 50 f., 86<sup>18</sup>, 114<sup>26</sup>.

Raj'iyya, II. 24<sup>7</sup>, 25<sup>6</sup>.

Riwand, *see* Râwand.

ar-Riwandi (II. 123<sup>34</sup>), *see* Râwandiyya.

Rizâm b. Sâbîk, II. 118<sup>14</sup>.

Rizâmiyya, II. 118 f., 120<sup>11</sup>, 124<sup>10,18</sup>.

Rubûbadiyya, *see* Abû'l-'Abbâs.

Rustem b. Husein b. Haushab, *see* Ibn Haushab.

" b. Karhin b. Haushab, *see* Ibn Haushab.

Sabâ'iyya, *see* 'Abdallah b. Sabâ.

Sabbâb, II. 42 n. 1.

Sabbâbiyya, *ib.*

Sabbâbiyya, or Sabâbiyya (II. 17 n. 1, 41 f.), *see* Sabâ'iyya.

Sab'iyya, II. 79<sup>1</sup>, 108<sup>15</sup>.

as-Sâdîk, *see* *Ja'far* b. Muhammed as-S.

as-Saffâh, Caliph, II. 118<sup>22</sup>, 119<sup>18</sup>.

Sâfiyya bint 'Abd al-Mu'tâlib, aunt of Prophet, II. 145.

Sâhâbiyya, II. 43<sup>26</sup>.

Sâ'id an-Nâdî, II. 90<sup>11</sup>, 96<sup>3</sup>.

Saints, superior to prophets, I. 34<sup>9</sup>, II. 13<sup>12,14</sup>; exempt from religious precepts, s.v.

Sakîl, mother of *Mahdi*, I. 48<sup>15</sup>, 76, II. 54<sup>14</sup>.

Salât, *see* Prayers.

Şâlih b. Tarîf, I. 47<sup>17</sup>, II. 49<sup>23,26</sup>.

Sâlihiyya: 1) *see* al-Hasan b. Sâlih; 2) sect of *Mu'tazila*, II. 181 n. 2.

Sâlim b. Abî Hafṣa, II. 129<sup>31</sup>.

“ b. Mas'ûd (=al-Ḥârith), II. 125<sup>4</sup>.

Salma b. Kuheil, II. 130<sup>1</sup>.

Samâk b. Ḥarb, II. 131<sup>31</sup>.

Samuel b. Nagdela, I. 13 (l. 3 *from below*). [Joseph is oversight.]

Şârhât aṭ-Tabarî, II. 93 n. 2.

Sarî al-Akşam, I. 64 n. 11, II. 96.

Saturninus, Gnostic, II. 85<sup>11</sup>.

Sausan, mother of *Mahdi*, I. 48<sup>16</sup>, 76<sup>18</sup>, II. 54<sup>14</sup>.

Sawâd, province, I. 68 n. 8, II. 110<sup>21</sup>, 111<sup>4,8</sup>.

Sawwâr, poet, II. 140 n. 3.

as-Sayyid al-Ḥîmyârî, II. 184, cf. 39 n. 3; argues with *Muhammed b. Ja'far b. an-Nu'mân*, II. 59<sup>16</sup>; his râwî *Ishâk b. Muhammed*, II. 102<sup>2</sup>; believes in *return* of *Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafîyya*, I. 77<sup>13</sup>, 78 n. 2, II. 25<sup>28</sup>, 35<sup>26</sup>, 36 ff., cf. 27 n. 4. in *Transmigration*, I. 34<sup>18</sup>, 52<sup>6</sup>, II. 26<sup>13</sup>, 63 n. 2; on *name* of *Mahdi*, II. 53 n. 2; on sun miracle, II. 68<sup>11</sup>; against divinity of 'Alî, II. 101 n. 2; against *Rawâfiḍ*, II. 140 n. 3; denounces *Companions*, II. 144 n. 6.

Sects, number of, I. 6 f.; classification of, I. 20 ff., 29<sup>1</sup>, 40<sup>11</sup>, II. 21<sup>3</sup>.

Sefer Yeşîrah, II. 82<sup>14</sup>.

Sem, identical with *Malchizedek*, II. 47<sup>8</sup>.

Seven, Imams, *see* Sab'iyya; angels, II. 84<sup>29</sup>; prophets, II. 86<sup>1</sup>, 89 f., 104<sup>18,24</sup>; incarnations, II. 127<sup>15</sup>.

Seveners, *see* Sab'iyya.

ash-Shâ'bi, I. 60<sup>3</sup>, II. 86<sup>33</sup>; on 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, II. 43<sup>18,26</sup>; utterances against *Shî'a*, II. 19<sup>16</sup>, 77<sup>10</sup>, 95<sup>8</sup>, 135, 142 n. 2, 144.

Shâfi'iyya, II. 117<sup>11</sup>.

ash-Shalmağâni, Ibn Abî 'l 'Azâkîr (also *written* Karâkîr), I. 69 ult. ff., 70 n. 2, II. 115 ff., 127<sup>17</sup>.

‘Azâkîra, II. 116<sup>2</sup>.

Karâkîriyya, II. 117<sup>30</sup>.

Sheitân aṭ-Ṭâk and Sheitâniyya, *see* Muhammed b. Ja'far b. an-Nu'mân.

Shî'a, name, II. 157 f., applied to *Imâmiyya*, 158, to *Zeidiyya*, *ib.*, to both, 159<sup>1</sup>; origin I. 3 n. 1; character, I. 4 f.; division of sects, I. 21 ff., 42<sup>15</sup>, II. 155<sup>10</sup>, 156<sup>1</sup>, cf. I. 30<sup>8</sup>; fundamental beliefs of, I. 31<sup>21</sup>, 32<sup>24</sup>, 78 ff.; “exaggerations” of, I. 34 f.; anthropomorphic, II. 135<sup>17</sup>; relation to *Mu'tazila*, I. 31<sup>20</sup>, II. 11<sup>33</sup> ff., to *Ǧulât*, s.v.; compared with Jews, *see* ash-Shâ'bi; *Traditions* against, s.v.; of illegitimate birth, I. 49 f., II. 55<sup>28</sup>. *See* *Imâmiyya*, *Rawâfiḍ*, *Zeidiyya*.

Shibâsh, *see* al-Bâṣrî.

Shinâs, *see* al-Bâṣrî.

ash-Shorṭah, district near *Wâsiṭ*, II. 127<sup>28</sup>.

Shukk al-Leil, *see* Muhammed b. 'Abd as Salâm.

Simeon, tribe, II. 49<sup>22</sup>.

Simon Magus, II. 85<sup>27</sup>.

Šūfis, originated by *Abū Sa‘id Abū ‘l-Kheir*, s.v.; in *Iṣbahān*, II. 45, n. 2; believe that *Elijah* and *al-Khaḍir* alive, I. 46<sup>1</sup>, II. 47<sup>32</sup>, that saints superior to prophets, s.v., and exempt from religious *precepts*, s.v.; follow *Šī‘a*, II. 148, and *Gūlāt*, I. 73<sup>2</sup>, II. 152; are no Muslims, I. 30 ult., n. 11, II. 11<sup>20</sup>.

Sufriyya, Khārijite sect, I. 37<sup>6</sup>, 71<sup>6,16</sup>, II. 9<sup>30</sup>, 34, 126<sup>10,18</sup>.

Sufyān ath-Thaurī, II. 42<sup>28</sup>.

Suleimān b. Jarīr, I. 79<sup>21</sup>, II. 72<sup>20</sup>, 129<sup>24</sup>, 136<sup>7</sup>, 149<sup>9</sup>.

Suleimāniyya, II. 136<sup>11</sup>.

Jarīriyya, *ib.*

Sunbād (*or* Sinbād), I. 36<sup>9</sup>, II. 18<sup>19</sup>.

Sunna, I. 29<sup>4</sup>, 33<sup>11</sup>, 34<sup>8</sup>.

Supernatural knowledge, *see* Mystic lore.

Surhūbiyya, *see* Abū'l-Jārūd.

Surr-man-ra‘ā (Samara), city, I. 76 n. 10, II. 18<sup>26</sup>.

as-Sūs, city, I. 54<sup>15</sup>, 55<sup>1</sup>, II. 76<sup>8</sup>.

Syzygy, *see* Clementines.

Tabaristān, province, II. 33<sup>5</sup>.

Tabdil, *see* Koran, interpolated.

Tafwīd, doctrine, II. 91.

at-Tahāwī, II. 70.

Tāhir b. al-Ḥusein, I. 43 n. 11.

Takhlīt, doctrine, II. 91<sup>18</sup>.

Takīyya (“compulsion”), II. 9<sup>10</sup>.

Talabīra, city in Spain, I. 47<sup>4</sup>, II. 49<sup>22</sup>.

Ṭālikān, city in *Khorāsān*, I. 44<sup>3</sup>.

at-Tammār, I. 79<sup>21</sup>, II. 60<sup>6</sup>; *see* ‘Alī b. Mīthām.

Tanāsukh, *see* Transmigration of Souls.

Tarīf, II. 49<sup>22</sup>.

Tashbīh, *see* God.

Tāwūs, II. 41 n. 2.

at-Tayyār, (II. 60<sup>14</sup>), *see* ‘Alī b. Mīthām.

Terrorism, among Shiīt sects, I. 35<sup>12</sup>, 62 f., II. 92 f., 95<sup>24</sup>, 153.

Thugs, in India, II. 92<sup>25</sup>.

Tiberias, I. 72<sup>2</sup>, II. 127<sup>26</sup>.

Tiffīs, II. 125 n. 4.

Tigris, rise of, II. 114<sup>25</sup>.

Traditions, forged or interpolated by *Šī‘a*, I. 78<sup>4</sup>, II. 135; by *Khat-ṭābiyya*, II. 118<sup>8</sup>; by *Sunna* against *Šī‘a*, II. 48<sup>27</sup>, 185<sup>21</sup>, 146, against *Zeidiyya*, II. 147 n. 2.

Transmigration, of Souls (Tanāsukh), belief of *Mu‘tazila*, I. 33 ult., II. 12<sup>25</sup>, of *Keisāniyya*, s.v., of other heretics, I. 71<sup>3</sup>, II. 11<sup>11</sup>, 45<sup>12</sup>, 113<sup>29</sup>; relation to *Return*, II. 26 f.; consequences, I. 52, II. 74.

Tanāsukhiyya, II. 12<sup>21</sup>, 26<sup>32</sup>, 63<sup>32</sup>.

Trinity, II. 91<sup>28</sup>.

Tugj, I. 65, n. 2, II. 97<sup>28</sup>.

at-Tūsī, II. (5), 59<sup>23</sup>, 107 n. 1.

Twelvers, *see* Ithnā'ashariyya.

\*Ubeidallah [b. *Muhammed al-Habib*], divinity of, I. 69<sup>1</sup>, II. 20<sup>5</sup>, 95<sup>30</sup> 109<sup>34</sup>, 111<sup>19</sup>.

“ b. Ziyād, II. 93<sup>11</sup>.

al-'Uleiš, tribe, I. 65 n. 2, II. 97<sup>21</sup>.

‘Ulyān b. Dirā‘, II. 101<sup>32</sup>.

‘Ulyāniyya, I. 66<sup>18</sup>, II. 101 f.

Urdunn, district in Palestine, I. 72<sup>1</sup>, II. 127<sup>26</sup>.

Ustadsīs, I. 36<sup>9</sup>, II. 18<sup>21</sup>.

Vice, unnatural, I. 70<sup>2</sup>, II. 109<sup>6</sup>, 117<sup>3</sup>.

Wākifa, or Wākifiyya, II. 26<sup>8</sup>, 40, 50 ff.

al-Warrāk, II. 15 n. 3, 136 (Corrections).

Wāsil b. ‘Atā, II. 11<sup>38</sup>, 48 n. 1, 129<sup>16</sup>, 141<sup>14</sup>, 153.

Wāsit, city, II. 41 n. 2, 65<sup>12</sup>, 80<sup>6</sup>, 115<sup>10</sup>, 127<sup>23</sup>, 145 n. 2.

Water, sanctity of, I. 60<sup>12</sup>, II. 87<sup>28</sup>; “dark” and “white” waters of *Mandæans*, II. 84<sup>17</sup> ff.

Weaver's trade, despicable, II. 96<sup>15</sup>.

World, creation of, I. 59, II. 81 ff.; eternity of, I. 54<sup>11</sup>, II. 74<sup>19</sup>.

Yahya b. Dikrweih (or Zikrweih), II. 79<sup>9</sup>, 97.

“ b. Khālid, Vizier, II. 60<sup>23</sup>, 102 n. 3, 133<sup>21</sup>.

“ b. ‘Omar b. Yahya, I. 43<sup>10</sup> ff., II. 31 f.

Ya'kūbiyya, *see* Muhammed b. Ya'kūb.

Yazid b. ‘Omar (or ‘Omeir), II. 97<sup>6</sup>.

Yemen, I. 68, II. 18<sup>8</sup>, 109 f.

Yūnus b. ‘Abdarrahmān, II. 40<sup>20</sup>, 51<sup>20</sup>.

Yūsuf b. ‘Omar, I. 62<sup>6</sup>, II. 86<sup>21</sup>, 100<sup>25</sup>, 138<sup>12</sup>.

Zāhirism, I. 38 f., II. 8<sup>24</sup>, 128<sup>15</sup>.

az-Zakarī (II. 109<sup>10</sup>), *see* al-Isbahānī.

Zakariyya b. Muhammed, II. 87 n. 2.

Zebid, in Yemen, II. 110<sup>15</sup>.

Zeid b. ‘Alī b. al-Husein, I. 74<sup>9</sup>, II. 11<sup>37</sup>, 22<sup>24</sup>, 129<sup>16</sup>, 138 ff., 141 f.

Zeidiyya, on *Imamate*, s.v. (twice); on *Imamate* in *Kureish*, II. 152 ult.; acknowledge *Abū Bekr* and ‘Omar, I. 22, 74<sup>16</sup>, 79<sup>13</sup>, II. 22<sup>25</sup> (*see also* s.v.), and doubtful about ‘Othmān, s.v., but change their attitude, II. 155 n. 1, cf. 158; believe in *Muhammed b. al-Kāsim*, II. 33<sup>2</sup>; and *Sunna*, II. 155, 157 f.; and *Mu'tazila*, s.v.; and *Keisāniyya*, I. 23, 34 f., 44<sup>1</sup>; and *Jārūdiyya*, I. 42<sup>11</sup>, 74<sup>13</sup>, II. 153 n. 1; and *Imāmiyya*, s.v.; and *Gulāt*, II. 76<sup>29</sup>; designated as *Shī'a*, II. 158; nicknamed *Nuṣṣāb*, II. 159<sup>10</sup>; traditions against, s. v.; men belonging to, II. 11<sup>31</sup>, 72<sup>20</sup> (*cf.* 129<sup>26</sup>), 106 n. 5, 131<sup>25, 29</sup>. Cf. *Imāmiyya*, *Rawāfiq*, *Shī'a*.

Zenj, I. 65 n. 2, II. 31<sup>20</sup>, 98<sup>5</sup>.  
 Zikrweih (*or* Dikrweih) b. Mihrweih, II. 97<sup>19</sup>.  
 Ziyâd, tribe, I. 68 n. 8, II. 110<sup>12</sup>.  
 “ brother of *Mu'âwiya*, II. 110<sup>13</sup>.  
 Zubeir b. Șafîyya, cousin of Prophet, II. 145.  
 Zurâra b. A'yun, II. 40<sup>24</sup>, 66<sup>25</sup>, 91 n. 1, 146 n. 4.  
 Zutṭ (Gypsies), II. 99.

LIST OF ARABIC WORDS.<sup>1</sup>

الْأَبْنَاء 18<sup>6</sup> ff.  
 الْأَخْرَاد 18<sup>13</sup> ff.  
 رَفْضٌ *see* أَرْفَاضٌ  
 بَعْدٌ 21<sup>14</sup>.  
 بَرِّيٌّ *see* تَبَرِّاً.  
 تَبَرِّاً عَنِ الشِّيَخَيْن 138 n. 4, 144 n. 1.  
 تَخْلِيَطٌ 91<sup>18</sup>.  
 تَرْفُضٌ *see* رَفْضٌ.  
 تَرْضِيٌّ عَنِ الشِّيَخَيْن 138 n. 4, 144 n. 8.  
 تَشْيِيعٌ 146, *see* شِيَعَةٌ.  
 جَنَاحٌ 110<sup>6</sup>.  
 جُندٌ 127<sup>24</sup>.  
 دِيَانَاتٌ 180<sup>22</sup>.  
 رَجْعَةٌ 23 ff. 28 n. 1.  
 أَرْفَاضٌ, رَافِضُونَ, رَافِضٌ, رَافِضَةٌ, رَافِضَةٌ 187. *See* شِيَعَةٌ and  
 تَرْفُضٌ, رَفْضٌ 142.  
 رَعْمٌ 105 n. 2.  
 سَاقٌ 50<sup>11</sup>, 51<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Quotations exclusively refer to the second part of this treatise.

سَبَابُون 145 n. 2.  
 سَبَب<sup>٩</sup> 95 n. 1.  
 سُبْقٌ 139 n. 2.  
 شِبَرٌ 67<sup>٢٣</sup>.  
 شَغْبٌ 6 f., 55 n. 1.  
 شِيَعَة 157 f.  
 شِيَعَة وَرَافِضَة 147 f.  
 ظَرِيفٌ 55<sup>١٦</sup>.  
 (أَبْنَ) عَمٌ 32.  
 غُلُوْقٌ 12<sup>٥</sup> ff., 145 n. 2.  
 غُمِيزٌ بَهَا 134<sup>٥</sup>.  
 قَطْعٌ 50, 51 n. 1.  
 كَافِرَكُوبَاتٌ 93<sup>٢٦</sup> ff.  
 مَزَرَاقٌ 97 n. 4.  
 مَشَارِقَة 17 n. 3.  
 مَقَالَة 130.  
 مَنْصُورٌ 109.  
 نُصَابٌ, or نُوَاصِبٌ 159.  
 نَفَاطٌ 97 n. 5.  
 وَسَائِطٌ 91<sup>٢٥</sup>.  
 وَقْفٌ (and تَوْقُّفٌ) 50.